

THE
WORKS
OF
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
Dean of ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.
VOLUME III.

CONTAINING,
A PROPOSAL for the Use of IRISH MANUFACTURES.
The DRAPIER'S LETTERS.
The INTELLIGENCER.
PAPERS relating to IRISH AFFAIRS, &c.

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DR. JONATHAN SWIFT

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN

VOLUME III

THE DEAN'S LETTERS

THE HISTORY

A HISTORY OF THE DEAN'S LETTERS

DUBLIN

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1794

T H E
C O N T E N T S
T O V O L. III.

	Page
A PROPOSAL for the universal use of Irish manufactures	1
The Drapier's Letters:	
Letter I. to the tradesmen, shop-keepers, farmers, and common people of Ireland, concerning Wood's brass half-pence — — — — —	11
Letter II. to Mr. Harding the printer, about a paragraph in his news-paper on the same subject — — — — —	29
Letter III. to the nobility and gentry of Ireland, being observations on the report of the committee of the privy council about Wood's half-pence — — — — —	36
Letter IV. to the whole people of Ireland — — — — —	60
Seasonable advice to the grand jury, concerning the bill preparing against the printer of the preceding letter — — — — —	77
An extract from the debates of the house of commons at Westminster, Oct. 21. 1680 — — — — —	80
The presentment of the grand jury of the county of the city of Dublin — — — — —	82
Letter V. to the Lord Viscount Molesworth — — — — —	84
Letter VI. to the Lord Chancellor Middleton — — — — —	102
Letter VII. an humble address to both houses of parliament — — — — —	120
The Drapier demolished — — — — —	145
A full and true account of the solemn procession to the gallows, at the execution of William Wood, Esq; and hardware-man — — — — —	151
Some considerations on the attempts to pass Mr. Wood's brass money in Ireland — — — — —	156
A short view of the state of Ireland in 1727 — — — — —	164
An answer to a paper, called, <i>A memorial of the poor inhabitants, tradesmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland</i> — — — — —	172
A vindication of his Excellency John Lord Carteret, from the charge of favouring none but Tories, High-churchmen, and Jacobites — — — — —	180
Considerations upon two bills sent down from the house of Lords to the house of Commons in Ireland, relating to the clergy — — — — —	197
A proposal	

CONTENTS.

A proposal for an act of parliament in Ireland, to pay off the debts of that nation without taxing the subject	209
An examination of certain abuses, corruptions, and enormities, in the city of Dublin	215
A letter from a member of the house of Commons in Ireland, to a member of the house of Commons in England, concerning the sacramental test	230
Some arguments against enlarging the power of Bishops in letting of leases	248
The Presbyterians plea of merit in order to take off the test, impartially examined	264
The advantages proposed by repealing the sacramental test, impartially considered	280
Queries relating to the sacramental test	289
Reasons humbly offered to the parliament of Ireland, for repealing the sacramental test, in favour of the Catholics	295
Some reasons against the bill for settling the tythe of hemp, flax, <i>etc.</i> by a modus	307
A modest proposal to the public for preventing the children of poor people in Ireland from being a burden to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public	318
The humble petition of the footmen in and about the city of Dublin, to the house of Commons, <i>etc.</i>	328
A proposal for giving badges to the beggars in all the parishes of Dublin	330
Advice to the freemen of Dublin, in the choice of a member to represent them in parliament	340
Some considerations offered to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, <i>etc.</i> of Dublin, in the choice of a Recorder	347
The last speech and dying words of Ebenezer Elliston, who was executed May 2. 1722.	349
The Intelligencer, No. I.	354
No. III.	357
No. XV.	362
No. XIX.	364
A short character of his excellency Thomas, earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland	372
A relation of several facts, <i>etc.</i>	380
Remarks on Dr. Swift's tracts relating to Ireland. From Mr. Deane Swift's Essay	390

A PROPOSAL for the universal use of IRISH MANUFACTURE, in *cloaths* and *furniture* of *houses*, etc. utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing *wearable* that comes from ENGLAND. *

Written in the Year 1720.

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greatest discouragements from England, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. *Agriculture*, which

* Upon Dr. Swift's arrival in Ireland, that spirit which had been raised against him by the Whigs in England, infatuated likewise the whole populace of Dublin, insomuch that when he walked through the town, he was frequently pointed at and abused by several of the meaner shopkeepers, mechanics, and other base fellows without name or occupation. These abominable wretches, like their brethren the yahoos, would often scrape the kennels with their nasty claws, to throw dirt and filth at him as he passed through the city; all which he bore for two or three years, until the brutes became tired of their scurrility, not so much with a resigned philosophical patience, as indeed with that superior contempt for all unworthy demeanor, which is only to be conceived by the most improved and exalted minds. But these animosities having subsided for two or three years, instead of rejoicing over the miseries of that people which had without cause borne a tyrannous hate against him, he began to look down with pity on their distressed condition; he regretted the calamities of his country and the absurdity of their politics; he deplored their want of commerce, and lamented all their grievances. At last in 1720 he resolved, as far as lay in his power, to correct the errors and the blunders of his deluded countrymen; and with that view he writ short and lively *proposals for the universal use of Irish manufacture*, etc.; on account of which a prosecution was set on foot against Waters the printer of that pamphlet, which was carried on with so much violence, that one William Whitshed, then Chief Justice, thought proper, in a manner the most extraordinary, to keep the jury eleven hours, and to send them back nine times out of court

Vol. III. A until

2 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

which hath been the principal care of all wise nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are so many statute-laws

until he had wearied them into a special verdict. But Whitshed, a man of low birth and narrow education, whose whole pittance of learning was confined within the magic circle of the laws, the doctrine of precedents, and practice of the courts, was by no means aware by what unmerciful strokes a patriot and genius, like Dr. Swift, could avenge upon him the cause both of himself and country. Whitshed, armed with power, and sure to be supported, in the virulent days of party, against all those which adhered to their Tory principles, first gave the alarm to battle by an attack upon Waters the printer. Swift, armed with genius, and fired with a zeal for liberty and public interest, flew directly to the charge. But finding he had to deal with an adversary unequal to the combat, he contented himself for the present with giving him three or four lashes, and making him thoroughly contemptible in the eyes of the world. But soon after Swift had further occasion for exerting all his powers against the unfortunate Whitshed. [See p. 80. 81.] *Swift.*

This treatise spread very fast, upon which a person in great office sent in haste for the Chief Justice (Whitshed) and informed him of a seditious, factious and virulent pamphlet lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance, directing at the same time, that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour.—The *Chief Justice* had so quick an understanding, that he resolved, if possible, to out-do his orders.—The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail:—the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry: the *Chief Justice* sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until, being tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the mercy of the judge by what they call a *special verdict*. During the trial the *Chief Justice* among other singularities laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cause being so very odious and impopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon (the D. of G—ff-n) the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, his Grace, after mature advice and permission from England, was pleased to grant a *noli prosequi*. See Swift's letter to Pope, of Jan. 10, 1721, vol. 8. p. 24. *Hawkef.*

This piece first turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour.

When the author had finished *Gulliver's travels*, he found an opening to indulge his love of politics, and to commence a patriot for Ireland: and he made use of the opportunity, by increasing the

laws in England, we countenance so well, that the landlords are every where by *penal clauses* absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing†, not satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the English; one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market. And because people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vast tracts of the best land, for the feeding of sheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *history of the wise men of Gotham*, with a catalogue only of some *wonderful* laws and customs we have observed within thirty years past. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France hath been our only support for several years past, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents and go to market. But our merchants assure me, *this trade hath received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France: that most of their wine is paid for in specie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence.*

the natural jealousy which the lesser island constantly entertains of the greater. His treatise, or proposal, immediately raised a very violent flame. The printer was prosecuted: and the prosecution had the same effect, which generally attends those kind of measures; it added fuel to the flame. But his greatest enemies must confess, that the pamphlet is written in the stile of a man, who had the good of his country nearest his heart; who saw her errors, and wished to correct them; who felt her oppressions, and wished to relieve them; and who had a desire to rouse and awaken an indolent nation from a lethargic disposition, that might prove fatal to her constitution. *Orrery.*—See *An excellent new song on a seditious pamphlet*, vol. 6. p. 265.

† It was the practice of Irish farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing*, neither manuring nor letting it lie fallow; and when their leases were near expired, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that the landlords by their zeal to prevent it were betrayed into this pernicious measure. *Hawkes.*

4 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our *flocks*, it may be worth enquiring, what we shall do with our wool, in case Barnstable † should be overstocked, and our French commerce should fail?

I could wish the parliament had thought fit to have suspended their regulation of *church* matters, and enlargements of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient time, because they did not appear very pressing, at least to the persons *principally concerned*; and, instead of these great refinements in *politics* and *divinity* had *amused* themselves and their committees a little with the *state of the nation*. For example: what if the house of commons had thought fit to make a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families, which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it so far as utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female fopperies: and declared that whoever acted otherwise, should be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation*? What if they had sent up such a resolution to be agreed to by the house of Lords: and by their own practice and encouragement spread the execution of it in their several counties? What if we should agree to make *burying in woollen a fashion*, as our neighbours have made it a *law*? What if the ladies would be content with Irish stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken by *male* and *female* never to appear with one single *shred*, that comes from England; and let all the people say, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could please his Majesty better than to hear, that his loyal subjects of both sexes in this kingdom § celebrated his *birth-day* (now approaching) *universally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to save them

† A sea-port in Devonshire, at that time the principal market in England for Irish wool. *Hawkes*.

§ Her Grace the Dutchess of Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant's Lady, is said to have appeared at the *castle* in Dublin, wholly clad in the manufacture of Ireland on his Majesty's birth-day 1753. *ms.*

from

OF IRISH MANUFACTURE. §

from the brink of ruin? If the mens opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs as in brocades; and, since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chusing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late Archbishop of Tuam mention a pleasant observation of some body's; *that Ireland would never be happy until a law were made for burning every thing, that came from England, except their people and their coals.* I must confess; that as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we shall have no occasion for them.

Non tanti mitra est, non tanti judicis ostrum,
but I should rejoice to see a *stay-lace* from England be thought scandalous, and become a topic for censure at *visits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking shop-keepers in this town had not been utterly destitute of common sense, they would have made some *proposal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpose I have mentioned: promising to improve the *cloths and stuffs of the nation into all possible degrees of fineness and colours*, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry either as to the prices or the goodness. For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the rascally mercers and woollen drapers would in four and twenty hours raise their *cloths and silks* to above a double price; and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with *petitions* to the court, *that they were ready to starve, and their fineries lay upon their hands.*

I could wish, our shop-keepers would immediately think on this *proposal*, addressing it to all persons of quality and others; but first be sure to get some body who can write sense to put it into form.

I think it needless to exhort the clergy to follow this good example; because *in a little time those among them, who are so unfortunate to have had their birth and education in this country, will think themselves abundantly happy, when they can afford Irish crape and an Athlone hat;* and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have indeed seen the present Archbishop of Dublin †

† Dr King.

6 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet under the rose be it spoken, *his grace deserveth as good a gown, as if he had not been born among us.*

I have not courage enough to offer one syllable on this subject to *their honours* of the army: neither have I sufficiently considered the great importace of *scarlet and gold lace.*

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpose. The goddess had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin very famous for *spinning and weaving*: they both met upon a trial of skill; and Pallas finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her *rival* down, and turned her into a spider; injoining her to *spin and weave* for ever out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass. I confess, that from a boy I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess on account of *so cruel and unjust a sentence*; which however is *fully executed* upon us by England, with further additions of *rigour and severity*, for the greatest part of our *bowels and vitals* is extracted without allowing us † the liberty of *spinning and weaving* them.

The scripture tells us, that *oppression maketh a wise man mad*; therefore, consequently speaking, the reason why some men are not *mad*, is because they are not *wise*: however, it were to be wished, that *oppression* would in time teach a little *wisdom* to fools.

I was much delighted with a person, who hath a great estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, *how grievously poor England suffers by impositions from Ireland*: that we convey our own wool to France in *spight of all the harpies at the custom-house*: that Mr Shuttleworth, and others on the Cheshire coasts, are such fools to sell us their bark at a good price for tanning our own hides into leather: with other enormities of the like weight and kind. To which I will venture to add more: *that the mayoralty*

† In the spring 1753 the parliament of England passed an act for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay yarn, from any port in Ireland to any port in England; which was before prohibited. And

In the winter 1753 the Irish parliament prohibited the importation of gold and silver lace, except of the manufacture of England. *Hawkes.*

of

OF IRISH MANUFACTURE. 7

of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate salary, whereby poor England loseth at least one thousand pounds a year upon the ballance: that the governing of this kingdom costs the Lord Lieutenant three thousand six hundred pounds a year; so much net loss to poor England: that the people of Ireland presume to dig for coals in their own grounds; and the farmers in the county of Wicklow send their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the great discouragement of the coal trade of Mostyn § and Whitehaven: that the revenues of the Post-office here, so righteously belonging to the English treasury, as arising chiefly from our own commerce with each other, should be remitted to London clogged with that grievous burthen of exchange; and the pensions paid out of the Irish revenues to English favourites should lie under the same disadvantage, to the great loss of the grantees. When a divine is sent over to a bishoprick here with the hopes of five and twenty hundred pounds a year; and upon his arrival he finds, alas! a dreadful discount of ten or twelve per cent: a judge, or a commissioner of the revenue has the same cause of complaint. Lastly, The ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be Irish manufacture; and yet is allowed to be sung in our open streets, under the very nose of the government.

These are a few, among the many hardships, we put upon that poor kingdom of England; for which, I am confident, every honest man wisheth a remedy: and I hear, there is a project on foot for transporting our best wheaten straw by sea and land carriage to Dunstable; and obliging us by a law to take off yearly so many tun of straw bats for the use of our women; which will be a great encouragement to the manufacture of that industrious town.

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether a law to bind men without their own consent be obligatory *in foro conscientiae*; because I find, Scripture, Sanderfon, and Suarez, are wholly silent on the matter. The oracle of reason, the great law of nature, and general opinion of civilians, wherever they treat of limited governments, are indeed decisive enough.

§ Mostyn in Flintshire, and Whitehaven in Cumberland

8 A PROPOSAL FOR THE USE

It is wonderful to observe the bias among our people in favour of *things*, *persons* and *wares* of all kinds, that come from England. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, that *he has got an excellent new song just brought from London*. I have somewhat of a tendency that way myself; and upon hearing a *cox-comb* from thence displaying himself with great volubility upon the *park*, the *play-house*, the *opera*, the *gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accomplishments. It is not many years, since I remember a *person*, who by his stile and literature seems to have been the *corrector* of a hedge-prefs in some *blind-alley* about Little-Britain, proceed *gradually* to be an author, at least a § *translator* of a lower rate, although somewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now *flourishes* in Grub-street; and upon the strength of this foundation come over *here*, erect himself up into an *orator and politician*, and lead a *kingdom* after him. This, I am told, was the *very motive*, that prevailed on the † *author* of a play called, *love in a hollow tree*, to do us the *honour* of a visit; presuming, with very good reason, *that he was a writer of a superior class*. I know *another*, who for thirty years past hath been the *common standard of stupidity* in England, where he was never heard a minute in any *assembly*, or by any *party*, with *common christian treatment*; yet upon his arrival hither could put on a *face of importance and authority*, talk more than six, without either *gracefulness*, *propriety* or *meaning*; and at the same time be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence and wisdom*.

Nothing hath humbled me so much, or shewn a greater disposition to a *contemptuous* treatment of Ireland in some chief *governors*, than that high style of several speeches from the *throne*, delivered as usual after the *royal assent*, in *some periods* of the two last reigns. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condescensions* in the prince to pass *those good laws* would have but an odd sound at Westminster: neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can pass, wherein the *king's* interest is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a speech on

§ Supposed to be Caesar's *commentaries*, dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, - by Col. Bladen.

† Lord Grimston.

OF IRISH MANUFACTURE. 9

the like occasion delivered by my Lord & Wharton, (I think it was his last) he desired Mr Addison to ask my opinion on it: my answer was, that his excellency had very honestly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph; wherein he asserted, by plain consequence, a dispensing power in the queen. His Lordship owned it was true, but swore the words were put into his mouth by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that some ministers in those times were apt from their high elevation to look down upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in America. And I observed a little of the same turn of spirit in some great men, from whom I expected better; although, to do them justice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them correct their idea, whereof the whole nation quickly found the benefit.— But that is forgotten. How the style hath since run, I am wholly a stranger; having never seen a speech since the last of the queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords; who, by unmeasurable screwing and racking their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable people to a worse condition than the peasants in France, or the vassals in Germany and Poland; so that the whole species of what we call substantial farmers, will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen, labouring with all their might for preventing the bishops from letting their revenues at a moderate half value (whereby * the whole order would in an age, have been reduced to manifest beggary) at the very instant, when they were every where canting † their own land upon short leases, and sacrificing their oldest tenants for a penny an acre advance. I know not how it comes to pass, (and yet perhaps I know well enough) that slaves have a natural disposition to be tyrants, and

§ Lord Lieutenant:

* Whereby, that is by preventing the bishops revenues from being let at half value. See this position explained and proved in the tract called arguments against enlarging the power of bishops, in this volume. p. 248. Hawkes.

† Canting their land is letting it to the highest bidder—cant signifies the same as auction. Hawkes.

that when my *bettors* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my *footman*; although perhaps he may be an honest and diligent fellow. I have heard *great* divines affirm, that *nothing is so likely to call down an universal judgment from heaven upon a nation, as universal oppression*; and whether this be not already verified in part, *their worships* the landlords are now at full leisure to consider. Whoever travels this country and observes the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himself in a land, where *law, religion, or common humanity* is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town †. I never saw the *proposals*, nor understand any one particular of their scheme: what I wish for at present, is only a sufficient provision of *hemp*, and *caps* and *bells*, to distribute according to the several degrees of *honesty* and *prudence* in *some persons*. I hear only of a monstrous sum already named; and if *OTHERS* do not soon hear of it too, and hear with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of less sagacity than myself and a very few besides take me to be. And the jest will be still the better, if it be true, as judicious persons have assured me, that one half is altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewise much mended, if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldsmiths to melt down our heavy silver.

† This project for a *bank* in Ireland was soon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected. *Hawkes*.

A LETTER to the *Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common People* of IRELAND, concerning the BRASS-HALF-PENCE coined by one WILLIAM WOOD, Hard-ware-man, with a design to have them pass in this kingdom.

Wherein is shewn the power of his *patent*, the value of his *half-pence*, and how far every person may be obliged to take the same in payments, and how to behave himself, in case such an attempt should be made by Wood, or any other person.

(Very proper to be kept in every family.)

By M. B. DRAPIER*.

Written in the year 1724.

[About the year 1722, when Charles Duke of Grafton was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood, an hard-ware-man and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000l. to pass there as current money. The Dean believing this measure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be sharers in the profits which would arise from the ruin of a kingdom, assumed the character of a *Drapier*, which for some reason he chose to write *Drapier*, and in the following letters warned the people not to receive the coin which was then sent over.]

* Dr Swift having retired from the political world, and amused himself for three or four years with poetry, conversation, and trifles, (which is perhaps the finest test of a thorough consummate genius,

nus, that is above all particular systems and hypocritical pretences to philosophy), being alarmed in 1724 with fresh matter of indignation to resume his pen, boldly withstood the whole force of an infamous projector, encouraged and supported in his villany by those who were understood to be the chief directors in all public affairs. The project of this impudent fellow was, by virtue of a patent, which he had fraudulently obtained by the interest of the then favourite Chryseis, to coin half-pence for Ireland at about eleven parts in twelve under the real value, and force their currency in that kingdom; which, notwithstanding his patent, supposing that he had made his half-pence ever so good, no man living was obliged, or, by virtue of the prerogative of the crown, could be obliged to receive in any payment whatever; nothing being in truth the current coin of England or Ireland, beside gold and silver of the right sterling and standard; the baser metals being only accepted for the conveniency of change, which every man that pleases may reject whenever he thinks proper, without being afraid to incur any penalty from the law. This whole matter the Doctor laid open in a short treatise, the Drapier's first letter. *Swift.*

The judicious reader cannot but observe, that in this letter the author hath adapted his style, his phrases, his humour and his address in a very wonderful manner to the taste and apprehension of the populace. Neither indeed is the title-page wholly void of that captivating rhetoric which is admired by the common people; for it concludes like that of the whole duty of man, *very proper to be kept in every family.* *Swift.*

LETTER

LETTER I*.

To the Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and
Country-people in general of the kingdom of
Ireland.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and Fellow-subjects,

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to
your duty to God and the care of your salva-
tion, of the greatest concern to yourselves and
your children; your *bread* and *clothing*, and every com-
mon

* The first five of the Drapier's letters were published in pamphlets at different times. The sixth and seventh were first published in 1735, in the 4th volume of the Dublin edition of Dr Swift's works.

The sixth and seventh of the Drapier's letters were procured from a friend of the author's in the original manuscript, as we are assured, and have good reason to believe: those who are better judges, will soon determine whether they are genuine or not. It is the opinion of several wise men, that the Drapier's letters, and the other writings relating to our poor country [Ireland], may be very useful to posterity, by warning them for the future to oppose the same, or the like evil designs, however plausible they may at first appear to unthinking people; or however artfully they may be represented (like this destructive project of William Wood) by those who were to divide the spoil with that impostor; or, lastly, by prostitute flatterers, who are sure to find their private account in the ruin of the kingdom; which ruin would have certainly followed, if the author, whoever he was, had not published his letters in the most proper juncture, and fitted to all sorts of readers; whereby in two or three months he turned the whole nation, almost to a man, against that iniquitous scheme.—The letter to the Lord Chancellor Middleton is written with much caution, because the author confesses himself to be Dean of St Patrick's; and I could discover his name subscribed at the end of the original, although blotted out by some other hand. I can give no other reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the writer finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the people

14 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

mon necessary of life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as *men*, as *christians*, as *parents*, and as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper with the utmost attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less expence, I have ordered the *printer* to sell it at the lowest rate.

It is a great fault among you, that, when a person writes with no other intention than *to do you good*, you *will not be at the pains to read his advices*. One copy of this paper may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you; neither do you know, or enquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago a little book was written to advise all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear* * *country*. It had no other design, said nothing against the *king* or *parliament*, or any person whatsoever; yet the poor *printer* was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, and even some *weavers* themselves (for whose sake it was written) being upon the JURY, *found him guilty*. This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and

ple in power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the paper in his cabinet.—There is but a small part of the address to both houses of parliament that relateth to Wood and his coin. The rest contains several proposals for the improvement of Ireland, the many discouragements it lies under, and what are the best remedies against them.—By many passages in the other letters, but particularly in the *address*, concerning the great drain of money from Ireland, by absentees, importation of foreign goods, ballance of trade, and the like, it appears that the author had taken much pains, and been well informed in the business of computing; all his reasonings upon that subject, although he does not descend to particular *cases*, agreeing generally with the accounts given by others, who have since made that inquiry their particular study. And it is observable, that in the *address*, as well as in one of the other letters, he hath specified several important articles, that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him. *Dub. edit.*

* A proposal for the use of Irish manufactures.

when

when he must expect only *danger to himself*, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain story of the fact*: and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country*.

The *fact* is this: it having been many years since *COPPER-HALF-PENCE* OR *FARTHING*s were last coined in this kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many *counterfeits* passed about under the name of *raps*: several applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr Wood, *a mean, ordinary man, a hard-ware-dealer*, procured a *patent* under his *majesty's broad seal* to coin 108,000*l.* in *copper* for this *kingdom*; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the *half-pence* and *fartthings* in England pass for very little more than they are worth: and, if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the *brazier*, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr Wood made his *half-pence* of such *base metal*, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the *brazier* would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a *shilling* of his: so that this sum of 108,000*l.* in good gold and silver must be given for *trash*, that will not be worth above *eight or nine thousand pounds* real value. But this is not the worst; for Mr Wood, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another 108,000*l.* and *buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *batter* sells a dozen of *bats* for *five shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of *five shillings*.

Perhaps, you will wonder how such an *ordinary fellow*, as this Mr Wood, could have so much interest as to get his *MAJESTY'S* broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be sent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own *half-pence*, as we used to do.

Now

Now I will make that matter very plain : we are at a great distance from the King's court, and have no body there to solicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *squires*, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there : but this same Mr Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest ; he is an Englishman, and had great friends, and it seems knew very well *where to give money* to those, that would speak to others, that could speak to the *king*, and would tell a *fair story*. And *his majesty*, and perhaps the great lord, or lords who advised him, might think it was for our *country's good* : and so, as the lawyers express it, the *king* was deceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am sure if *his majesty* knew that such a patent, if it should take effect, according to the desire of Mr Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given such great proofs of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps shew his displeasure to *some body* or *other* : but a *word to the wise is enough*. Most of you must have heard with what anger our *honourable house of commons* received an account of this Wood's *patent*. There were several *fine speeches* made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom* to the *top* ; and several *smart votes* were printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in *print*, and in so confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This Wood, as soon as his *patent* was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many *barrels of those half-pence* to Cork, and other sea-port towns, and, to get them off, offered an *hundred pounds* in his coin for *seventy or eighty* in silver : but the *collectors* of the *king's* customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the parliament hath condemned them, and desired the *king* that they might be stopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But Wood is still working *underhand* to force his *half-pence* upon us ; and if he can, by the help of his friends in England, prevail so far as to get an order, that the *commissioners* and *collectors* of the *king's* money shall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his work* shall be *done*. And this is the difficulty.

difficulty you will be under in such a case; for the common foldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *ale-house*, will offer this money; and, if it be refused, perhaps he will *swagger* and *bector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *ale-wife*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *half-pence*. In this, and the like cases, the *shopkeeper*, or *victualler*, or any other *tradesman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money; for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and so in all things else, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For suppose you go to an *ale-house* with that base money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of those *half-pence*, what must the *victualler* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin, or if the *brewer* should be such a fool, the *farmers* will not take it from them for their *† bere*, because they are bound, by their leases, to pay their rents in good and lawful money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the *'squire*, their *landlord*, will never be so bewitched to take such *trash* for his land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other, and wherever it stops, it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of these *half-pence* is between four and five to an ounce; suppose five, then three shillings and four-pence will weigh a pound, and consequently twenty shillings will weigh six pounds *butter weight*. Now there are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred pounds a year rent; therefore when one of these *farmers* comes with his half year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, it will be at least six hundred pound weight, which is three horses load.

If a *'squire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloaths, and wine, and spices for himself and family, or perhaps to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six horses laden with *sacks*, as the farmers bring their corn; and, when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr Wood's mo-

† A sort of barley in Ireland.

ney. And I hope we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say 'Squire Conolly † hath *sixteen* thousand pounds a year; now if he sends for his *rent* to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty *horses* to bring up his half-year's *rent*, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage. But what the *bankers* will do, I cannot tell: for I am assured, that some great *bankers* keep by them forty thousand pounds in ready cash to answer all payments: which sum, in Mr Wood's money, would require twelve hundred horses to carry it.

For my own part, I am already resolved what to do; I have a pretty good shop of Irish stuffs and *silks*, and instead of taking Mr Wood's bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the *butchers* and *bakers* and *brewers*, and the rest, *goods* for *goods*; and the little *gold* and *silver* I have I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr Wood's money, as my father did the brags money, in king James's time, who could buy *ten* pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *pistole*, and so purchase *bread* from those, who will be such fools as to sell it me.

These *half-pence*, if they once pass, will soon be *counterfeited*, because it may be cheaply done, the *stuff* is so *base*. The Dutch likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *goods*; and Mr Wood will never be at rest, but coin on; so that in some years we shall have at least five times 108,000*l.* of this *lumber*. Now the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thousand pounds in all; and while there is a *silver* six-pence left, these *blood-suckers* will never be quiet.

When once the *kingdom* is reduced to such a condition, I will tell you what must be the end: the *gentlemen of estates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments, because, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leases to pay *sterling*, which is lawful current money of England: then they will turn their own

† Then Speaker of the house of Commons,

farmers,

farmers, as too many of them *do already*; run all into *sheep*, where they can, keeping only such other cattle as are necessary; then they will be their own *merchants* and send their *wool*, and *butter*, and *bides*, and *linen* beyond sea for ready *money*, and *wine*, and *spices*, and *silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *cottagers*: the *farmers* must *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country; the *shopkeepers* in this and every other town must *break* and *starve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *shopkeeper*, and *handicraftsman*.

But when the *squire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himself, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to send for England, and keep some poor *taylor* or *weaver* and the like in his own house, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I should never have done, if I were to tell you all the miseries that we shall undergo, if we be so *foolish* and *wicked* as to take this *curst coin*. It would be very hard, if all Ireland should be put into *one scale*, and this sorry fellow Wood into the other; that Mr Wood should weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their *pockets*: and that is more than the English do by *all the world* besides.

But your *great comfort* is, that as his majesty's *patent* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, so the *laws* have not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *subject* to take what *money* the *king* pleases; for then, by the same reason, we might be bound to take *pebble-stones*, or *cockle-shells*, or *stamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever we should happen to live under an *ill prince*, who might likewise, by the same power, make a *guinea* pass for *ten pounds*, a *shilling* for *twenty shillings*, and so on; by which he would, in a short time, get all the silver and *gold* of the *kingdom* into his own hands, and leave us nothing but *brass* or *leather*, or what he pleased. Neither is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppressive* in the French government, than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it a-new at a much higher value; which, however, is not the thousandth part so wicked as this *abominable project* of Mr Wood. For the French give
their

20 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

their subjects *silver* for *silver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but this fellow will not so much as give us good *brass* or *copper* for our *gold* and *silver*,* nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having said this much, I will now go on to tell you the judgment of some great *lawyers* in this matter; whom I fee'd on purpose for your sakes, and got their *opinions* under their *hands*, that I might be sure I went upon good grounds.

*A famous law-book, called the mirrour of justice, discourfing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our ancient kings, declares the law to be as follows: it was ordained, that no king of this realm should change or impair the money, or make any other money than of gold or silver, without the assent of all the counties; that is, as my lord Coke * says, without the assent of parliament.*

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer my lord Coke. § By the laws of England several metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *false metal*; the former comprehends *silver* or *gold*, the latter all *base metals*; that the former is only to pass in payments, appears by an act of *parliament* † made the twentieth year of Edward the first, called, *the statute concerning the passing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it translated into English; for some of our *laws* at that time were, as I am told, written in *latin*: *whoever in buying or selling presumes to refuse an half-penny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a contemner of the king's majesty, and cast into prison.*

By this *statute*, no person is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *king's majesty*, and for that crime to be committed to *prison*, but he who refuseth to accept the king's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I observed before, *silver* and *gold* only are intended.

That this is the true *construction* of the *act*, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from

* 1 Inst. 576.

§ 2 Inst. 576. 7.

† 2 Inst. 577.

my lord Coke's * observation upon it. By this act (says he) it appears, that no subject can be forced to take in *buying*, or *selling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *silver* or *gold*.

The law of England gives the king all mines of *gold* and *silver*; but not the mines of other *metals*; the reason of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my lord Coke †, is because money can be made of *gold* and *silver* but not of other *metals*.

Pursuant to this opinion *half-pence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *silver*, which is evident from the act of parliament of Henry the fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great scarcity that is at present within the realm of England of half-pence and farthings of silver, it is ordained and established, that the third part of all the money of silver plate which shall be brought to the bullion, shall be made into half-pence and farthings.* This shews, that by the words *half-penny* and *farthing* of lawful money in that statute concerning the passing of pence, is meant a small coin in *half-pence* and *farthings* of *silver*.

This is further manifest from the statute of the ninth year of Edward the third, chap. 3. which enacts, *that no sterling half-penny or farthing be molten for to make vessels, or any other thing by the goldsmiths, nor others, upon the forfeiture of the money so molten (or melted.)*

By another act in this king's reign, *black money* was not to be current in England. And, by an act made in the eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley half-pence* were not to pass: what kind of coin these were, I do not know; but I presume they were made of *base metal*. And these acts were no new *laws*, but further declarations of the old *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* stands in relation to *coin*. Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in Davis's reports, who tells us, that in the time of Tyrone's rebellion, queen Elizabeth ordered *money of mixed metal* to be coined in the tower of London, and sent over hither for the payment of the *army*, obliging all people to receive

* 2 Inst. 577.

† 2 Inst. 577.

it; and commanding that all *silver money* should be taken only as *bullion*; that is, for as much as it weighed. Davis tells us several particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and that the *privy council* of this kingdom obliged a *merchant* in England to receive this *mixt money* for goods transmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the best lawyers, as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having no such legal power. And, besides, it is to be considered, that the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *rebellion* in this *kingdom* assisted from Spain; and whatever is done in great exigences and dangerous times, should never be an example to proceed by in seasons of *peace* and *quietness*.

I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short, what the *law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *king*, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *silver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *silver*; not only the *half-pence* or *farthings* of England, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience, or ease, that you are content to take them; because the custom of coining silver *half-pence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I suppose on account of their being subject to be lost.

Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those *vile half-pence* of that same Wood, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling.

Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all: refuse this *filthy trash*. It is no treason to rebel against Mr Wood. His *majesty*, in his patent, obliges no body to take these *half-pence*: our *gracious prince* hath no such ill advisers about him; or, if he had, yet you see, the laws have not left it in the *king's* power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard, *gold* and *silver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me in the next place apply myself particularly to you, who are the poorer sort of *tradesmen*. Perhaps you may think, you will not be so great losers as the rich,
if

if these *half-pence* should pass; because you seldom see any *silver*; and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but *brass*, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry these *half-pence* to a shop for *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the shop-keeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the *key under the door*. Do you think I will sell you a yard of *ten-penny stuff* for twenty of Mr Wood's *half-pence*? No, not under two hundred at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump. I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our *beggars*; for when I give a *beggar* a half-penny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a half-penny will do him no more service, than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve.

In short, these *half-pence* are like the *accursed thing*, which, as the *scripture* tells us, the *children of Israel* were forbidden to touch. They will run about like the *plague*, and destroy every one who lays his hands upon them. I have heard *scholars* talk of a man who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a *bull of brass* with fire under it: but the prince put the *projector* first into his *brazen bull* to make the experiment. This very much resembles the project of Mr Wood; and the like of this may possibly be Mr Wood's fate; that the *brass* he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by persons, who have made it their business to be exact in their observations on the true value of these *half-pence*, that any person may expect to get a quart of *two-penny ale* for *thirty-six* of them.

I desire that all *families* may keep this paper carefully by them to refresh their memories, whenever they shall have

24 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

have farther notice of Mr Wood's half-pence, or any other the like imposture *.

* At the sound of the *Drapier's* trumpet, a spirit arose among the people, that, in the eastern phrase, was *like unto a tempest in the day of the whirlwind*. Every person of every rank, party, and denomination, was convinced, that the admission of Wood's copper must prove fatal to the common-wealth. The papist, the fanatic, the tory, the whig, all lifted themselves volunteers under the banner of *M. B. Drapier*, and were all equally zealous to serve the common cause. Much heat, and many fiery speeches against the administration, were the consequence of this union: nor had the flames been allayed, notwithstanding threats and proclamations, had not the coin been totally suppressed, and had not Wood withdrawn his patent. *Errata.*—See the note at the end of letter 5.

LETTER

LETTER II.

A LETTER to Mr Harding the printer; upon occasion of a paragraph in his newspaper of Aug. 1. 1724, relating to Mr WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.

IN your news-letter of the first instant there is a paragraph, dated from London July 25th, relating to Wood's half-pence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *letter to the shopkeepers, &c.* that this vile fellow would never be at rest; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires *new and fresh warning.* However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great measure, an imposition upon the public; at least I hope so, because I am informed that Wood is generally his own news-writer; *I cannot but observe from that paragraph, that this public enemy of ours, not satisfied to ruin us with his *trash*, takes every occasion to treat this kingdom with the utmost contempt. He represents *several of our merchants and traders, upon examination before a committee of council, agreeing, that there was the utmost necessity of copper money here, before his patent; so that several gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards sealed and subscribed with their names.* What then? If a physician prescribe to a patient a *dram* of physic, shall a rascal-apothecary cram him with a *pound*, and mix it up with *poison*? and is not a landlord's hand and seal to his own labourers a better security for five or ten shillings, than Wood's brass, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thousand pounds?

But who are these *merchants and traders of Ireland* that made this report of the *utmost necessity we are under for copper money*? they are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with Wood, from whom they are

to purchase a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to the ruin of the public, and their own private advantages. Are not these excellent witnesses, upon whose integrity the fate of the kingdom must depend, evidences in their own cause, and sharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deserved the liberty of coining for ourselves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, is *every body's wonder, as well as mine*, ten thousand pounds might have been coined here in Dublin of only one fifth below the intrinick value, and this sum, with the stock of half-pence we then had, would have been sufficient; but Wood, by his emissaries, enemies to God and this kingdom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old half-pence as he could; and from thence the present want of change arises; to remove which by Mr Wood's remedy, would be to cure a scratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But supposing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twenty thousand pounds would be a sum fully sufficient to answer all our occasions. I am no inconsiderable shop-keeper in this town, I have discoursed with several of my own, and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and also with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree, that two shillings in change for every family would be more than necessary in all dealings. Now, by the largest computation (even before that grievous discouragement of *agriculture*, † which hath so much lessened our numbers) the souls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half; which, allowing six to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thousand families, and consequently two shillings to each family will amount only to five and twenty thousand pounds; whereas this *honest, liberal, hard-ware-man*, Wood, would impose upon us above *four times* that sum.

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir Isaac Newton reported an *assay* taken at the Tower of Wood's metal; by which it appears, that Wood had *in all respects performed his contract*. His contract! with whom? was it with the parliament or people of Ireland? are not they to

† Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing. See p. 3.

be the purchasers? but they detest, abhor, and reject it as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impose his goods upon us by force.

But your news-letter says, that an *assay* was made of the coin. How impudent and insupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two half-pence of good metal, sends them to the tower, and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already coined, or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often sends to my shop for a pattern of stuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or sends, and compares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether fat and well fleeced, by way of *pattern*, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good security to restore my money for those that were *lean*, or *shorn*, or *scabby*, I would be none of his customer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of *brick* in his pocket, which he shewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with Mr Wood's *assay*.

The next part of the paragraph contains Mr Wood's voluntary proposals for *preventing any further objections or apprehensions*.

His first proposal is, *that whereas he hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and has copper prepared to make it up forty thousand pounds, he will be content to coin no more, unless the EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his patent impowers him to coin a far greater quantity.*

To which if I were to answer, it should be thus: let Mr Wood and his crew of *founders* and *tinkers* coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them coin old leather, tobacco-pipe-clay, or the dirt in the street, and call their trumpery by what name they please, from a guinea to a farthing; we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themselves. But I hope, and trust,

that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware.

The king has given him a patent to coin half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already shewn in my *letter to the shopkeepers, &c.* that the law hath not left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the subject to take any money, besides gold and silver of the right sterling and standard.

Wood further proposes, (if I understand him right, for his expressions are dubious) that *he will not coin above forty thousand pounds, unless the exigences of trade require it.* First, I observe that this sum of *forty thousand pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old half-pence left. Again, I ask, who is to be judge when the *exigences of trade require it*? Without doubt he means *himself*; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if this project should succeed, we were never *once* consulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigences* by his own; neither will these be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices shall think they have enough: and it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and silver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the same coin.

I shall not enter into examination of the prices, for which he now proposes to sell his half-pence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have said enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewise been considered by others. It is certain, that by his own first computation we were to pay three shillings for what was intrinsically worth but one, although it had been of the true weight and standard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is so great a difference both in weight and badness in several of his coins, that some of them have been nine in ten below the intrinsic value, and most of them six or seven.

His last proposal being of a peculiar strain and nature, deserves to be very particularly considered, both on account of the matter and the style. It is as follows:

Lastly, *In consideration of the direful apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr Wood will by such*
coinage

coinage drain them of their gold and silver; he proposes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no person be obliged to receive more than five-pence half-penny at one payment.

First, observe this little impudent *hard-ware-man* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehensions of a whole kingdom*, priding himself as the cause of them, and daring to prescribe (what no king of England ever attempted) how far a whole nation shall be obliged to take his brass coin. And he has reason to insult: for sure there was never an example in history of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter destruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thousand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt administration, but by one single, diminutive, insignificant mechanic.

But to go on: to remove our *direful apprehensions*, that *he will drain us of our gold and silver by his coinage*, this little arbitrary *mock-monarch* most graciously offers to *take our manufactures in exchange*. Are our Irish understandings indeed so low in his opinion? Is not this the very misery we complain of; that his cursed project will put us under the necessity of selling our goods for what is equal to *nothing*? How would such a proposal sound from France or Spain, or any other country with which we traffic, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we should take their money at ten times higher than the intrinsic value? Does Mr Wood think, for instance, that we will sell him a stone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth *six-pence*, when we can send it to England, and receive as many shillings in gold and silver? Surely there was never heard such a compound of impudence, villany, and folly.

His proposals conclude with perfect *high treason*. He promises, that *no person shall be obliged to receive more than five-pence half-penny of his coin in one payment*. By which it is plain, that he pretends to *oblige* every subject in this kingdom to take so much in every payment, if it be offered; whereas his patent *obliges* no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim such a power, as I have often observed; so that here Mr Wood takes upon him

the *entire legislature*, and an absolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's *advisers*? who are his *supporters*, *abettors*, *encouragers*, or *sharers*? Mr Wood will *oblige* me to take five-pence half-penny of his brags in every payment. And I will shoot Mr Wood and his deputies through the head like *high-way-men* or *house-breakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loss of honour to submit to the *lion*; but who, with the figure of a *man*, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a *rat*? He has laid a tax upon the people of Ireland of seventeen shillings at least in the pound: a tax, I say, not only upon lands, but interest-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftsmen, labourers, and servants. Shopkeepers, look to yourselves! Wood will *oblige* and force you to take five-pence half-penny of his trash in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or else you can hardly find bread: and pray consider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five-pence half-penny is nine shillings and two-pence, which is above an hundred and sixty pounds a year, wherein you will be losers of at least one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr Wood on such conditions, they may; but for my own particular, *let his money perish with him*. If the famous Mr Hambden rather chose to go prison, than pay a few shillings to king Charles I. without authority of parliament; I will rather chuse to be *hanged*, than have all my substance taxed at seventeen shillings in the pound, at the arbitrary will and pleasure of the venerable Mr Wood.

The paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to say, *nota bene*, or *mark well*) *No evidence appeared from Ireland, or elsewhere, to prove the mischiefs complained of, or any abuses whatsoever committed in the execution of the said grant.*

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. First, the house of commons in Ireland, which represents the whole people of the kingdom; and secondly, the privy-council addressed his majesty against these
half-

half-pence: what could be done more to express the universal sense of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely against it, would not that be sufficient to reject it? Must a committee of the whole house of commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr Wood? To what end did the king give his patent for coining half-pence in Ireland? was it not, because it was represented to his sacred majesty, that such a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his subjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if his representation be false, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think, that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or fourscore thousand pounds to himself? Before he was at the charge of passing a patent, much more of raking up so much filthy dross, and stamping it with his majesty's *image and superscription*, should he not first in common sense, in common equity, and common manners have consulted the principal party concerned; that is to say, the people of the kingdom, the house of lords, or commons, or the privy-council? If any foreigner should ask us, *whose image and superscription there is on Wood's coin?* we should be ashamed to tell him, it was Caesar's. In that great want of copper half-pence which he alledges we were, our city set up *our* Caesar's * statue in excellent copper at an expence, that is equal in value to thirty thousand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worse metal.

I observe many of our people putting a melancholy case on this subject. It is true, say they, we are all undone if Wood's half-pence must pass; but what shall we do, if his majesty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath often been din'd in my ears. But I desire my countrymen to be assured that there is nothing in it. The king never issues out a *proclamation* but to enjoin what the law permits him. He will not issue out a *proclamation* against *law*; or if such a thing should happen by a mistake, we are no more obliged to

* An equestrian statue of George I. at Essex-bridge, Dublin.

obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Besides, his majesty will never command us by a *proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itself. There he leaves it to our discretion; so that our destruction must be entirely owing to ourselves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a *proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet upon this occasion will be of no force. The king's revenues here are near four hundred thousand pounds a year. Can you think his ministers will advise him to take them in Wood's brass, which will reduce the value to fifty thousand pounds? England gets a million *sterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almost reduced to nothing: and do you think those, who live in England upon Irish estates, will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in Wood's dross?

If Wood and his *confederates* were not convinced of our stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an enterprise. He now sees a spirit hath been raised against him, and he only watches till it begins to flag: he goes about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him; and at last out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with opposition, we shall be forced to yield; and therefore, I confess, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your spirits and resentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, must I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's hearts waxed gross? are their ears dull of bearing? and have they closed their eyes? I fear there are some few *vipers* among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would sell their souls and their country; although at last it should end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like the *deaf adder*, who refuseth to bear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

Although my letter be directed to you, Mr Harding, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no interest in this affair, but what is common to the public: I can live better than many others: I have some gold and silver by me, and a shop well furnished; and shall be able to make a shift, when many of my betters are starving.

But

BUT I am grieved to see the coldness and indifference of many people, with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a *proclamation*; others shrug up their shoulders, and cry, what would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no danger at all: others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they shall fare no worse than their neighbours. Will not a man, who hears midnight robbers at his door, get out of bed and raise his family for a common defence? and shall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr Wood comes at the head of his *confederates* to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our posterity, for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to save your life; but God be thanked, Mr Wood cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your side: when he or his accomplices offer you his dross, it is but saying *no*, and you are safe. If a mad man should come into my shop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of stuff, I would pity, or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deserved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr Wood comes to demand my gold and silver, or commodities, for which I have paid my gold and silver, in exchange for his trash, can he deserve or expect better treatment?

When the *evil day* is come (if it must come) let us mark and observe those, who presume to offer these half-pence in payment. Let their names and trades, and places of abode, be made public, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr Wood. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the first honest discoverer give the word about, that Mr Wood's half-pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to say all that this melancholy subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one proposal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this destructive project at once. Let some skilful, judicious pen draw up an *advertisement* to the following purpose:

34 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

Whereas one William Wood, hard-ware-man, now or lately sojourning in the city of London, hath, by many misrepresentations, procured a patent for coining an hundred and eight thousand pounds in copper half-pence for this kingdom: which is a sum five times greater than our occasions require: and whereas it is notorious, that the said Wood hath coined his half-pence of such base metal, and false weight, that they are at least six parts in seven below the real value: and whereas we have reason to apprehend, that the said Wood may at any time hereafter clandestinely coin as many more half-pence as he pleases: and whereas the said patent neither doth, nor can oblige his majesty's subjects to receive the said half-pence in any payment, but leaves it to their voluntary choice; because by law the subject cannot be obliged to take any money, except gold or silver: and whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the said patent, the said Wood hath declared, that every person shall be obliged to take five-pence half-penny of his coin in every payment: and whereas the house of commons, and privy-council, have severally addressed his most sacred majesty, representing the ill consequences which the said coinage may have upon this kingdom: and, lastly, whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole nation to a man (except Mr Wood, and his confederates) are in the utmost apprehensions of the ruinous consequences that must follow from the said coinage; therefore we, whose names are underwritten, being persons of considerable estates in this kingdom, and residing therein, do unanimously resolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or half-penny of the said Wood's coining; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuse the said coin from any person whatsoever; of which that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a copy of this advertisement to be read to them by our stewards, receivers, etc.

I could wish, that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and signed by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom; and printed copies thereof sent to their several tenants. I am deceived if any thing could sooner defeat this execrable design of Wood, and his accomplices. This would immediately give the alarm, and set the kingdom on their guard; this would give courage

35

I must tell you in particular, Mr Harding, that you are much to blame. Several hundred persons have enquired at your house for my *letter to the shopkeepers, &c.* and you had none to sell them. Pray keep yourself provided with that letter, and with this : you have got very well by the former ; but I did not then write for your sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every news-paper ; and let it not be your fault or mine, if our countrymen will not take warning. I desire you likewise to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your servant,

M. B.

Aug. 4, 1724

LETTER

L E T T E R III.

Some OBSERVATIONS upon a paper, called, *The report of the committee of the most honourable the privy-council in England, relating to Wood's half-pence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom of Ireland.

HAVING already written *two letters* to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very pressing occasion for writing a *third*; I thought I could not more properly address it than to your *lordships* and *worships*.

The occasion is this: a printed paper was sent to me on the 18th instant, entitled, *a report of the committee of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council in England, relating to Mr Wood's half-pence and farthings.* There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I suppose it to have been in Dublin: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London journal*, or some other print of no authority or consequence. And, for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to *fright* us; or a *project* of some printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publishing something upon a subject, which now employs all our thoughts in this *kingdom*. Mr Wood in publishing this paper, would insinuate to the world, as if the *committee* had a greater concern for his credit, and private emolument, than for the honour of the *privy-council*, and both *houses of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it seems intended a vindication of Mr Wood, not without several severe reflections on the *houses of lords and commons* of Ireland.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of

a pamphlet; as if it were a dispute between William Wood, on the one part, and the *lords justices, privy-council, and both houses of parliament* on the other: the design of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other side with casting rash and groundless aspersions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr Wood hath treated the *committee* with great rudeness, by publishing an act of theirs in so unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the *government and privy-council* of Ireland; to whom the committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in England is *hitherto* a law in either *kingdom*; and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains disputable by every subject.

This (may it please your *lordships and worships*) may seem a strange way of discoursing in an *illiterate shop-keeper*. I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that small portion of reason God hath been pleased to give me; and when reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for instance, if any lawyer should tell me that such a point were law, from which many gross palpable absurdities must follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir Edward Coke should positively assert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *limited prince* could by his *prerogative* oblige his subjects to take half an ounce of lead, stamped with his image, for twenty shillings in gold, I should swear he was *deceived*, or a *deceit*; because a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what Wood hath advanced in some of his papers; and what suspicious people may possibly apprehend from some passages in that, which is called the *report*.

That paper mentions *such persons to have been examined, who were desirous and willing to be heard upon this subject*. I am told there were four in all; Coleby, B——, Mr Finley the banker, and one more, whose name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the treasury

treasury in Ireland: and though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every person in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, since I have gone so far as to mention particular persons, it may be some satisfaction to know who is this Wood himself, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almost two years together. I find he is in the patent intituled *esquire*, although he were understood to be only a *bard-ware-man*; and so I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a *'squire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropshire; where pretending to have been robbed, and suing the county, he was cast, and for the infamy of the fact lost his employment.

-I have heard another story of this *'squire* Wood from a very honourable lady, that one Hamilton told her. Hamilton was sent for six years ago by Sir Isaac Newton to try the coinage of four men, who then solicited a patent for coining half-pence for Ireland; their names were Wood, Costor, Elliston, and Parker. Parker made the fairest offer, and Wood the worst; for his coin were three half-pence in a pound weight less value than the other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he solicited his patent; but not so plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the said paper called the *report*, that upon repeated orders from a secretary of state for sending over such papers and witnesses, as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent, (by both houses of parliament;) the Lord Lieutenant represented the great difficulty he found himself in, to comply with these orders: that none of the principal members of both houses who were in the king's service, or council, would take upon them to advise, how any material person, or papers, might be sent over on this occasion, &c. And this is often repeated, and represented as a proceeding that seems very extraordinary, that in a matter, which had raised so great a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland; especially that the chief difficulty should arise from a general apprehension of a miscarriage, in an enquiry before his majesty, or in a proceeding by
due

due course of law, in a case where both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon evidence, and examinations taken in the most solemn manner.

How shall I, a poor ignorant shopkeeper, utterly unskilled in law, be able to answer so weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reason, unassisted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole case, by calling the united sense of both *houses of parliament* in Ireland an *universal clamour*. Here the addresses of the lords and commons of Ireland against a ruinous, destructive project of an *obscure, single undertaker*, is called a *clamour*. I desire to know, how such a style would be resented in England from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many *impeachments* would follow upon it? But supposing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise minister, who despised the *universal clamour* of a people; and if that *clamour* can be quieted by disappointing the fraudulent practice of a single person, the purchase is not exorbitant.

But in answer to this objection: first it is manifest, that if this coinage had been in Ireland, with such limitations as have been formerly specified in other patents, and granted to persons of this *kingdom*, or even of England, able to give sufficient security, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr Knox's patent mentioned in the *report*, security was given into the Exchequer, that the *patentee* should upon all demands be obliged to receive his *half-pence* back, and pay gold or silver in exchange for them. And Mr Moor (to whom I suppose that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same reason. This entirely alters the case; for there is no such condition in Wood's patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatsoever.

Put the case, that the two houses of *lords and commons* of England, and the *privy-council* there, should address his

his majesty to recall a *patent*, from whence they apprehended the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it stronger if possible, that the whole nation almost to a man should thereupon discover the *most dismal apprehensions* (as Mr Wood styles them;) would his majesty debate half an hour what he had to do? would any minister dare advise him against recalling such a patent? or would the matter be referred to the *privy-council*, or to Westminster-hall; the two houses of *parliament* plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? and is there even the smallest difference between the two cases?

Were not the people of Ireland born as *free* as those of England? how have they forfeited their freedom? is not their *parliament* as fair a *representative* of the people as that of England? and hath not their *privy-council* as great, or a greater share in the administration of public affairs? are not they subjects of the same king? does not the same *sun* shine upon them? and have they not the same God for their protector? am I a *freeman* in England, and do I become a *slave* in six hours by crossing the channel? No wonder then if the boldest persons were cautious to interpose in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation; or to presume to represent the representatives of the kingdom; and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a treatment as they would deserve at the next session. It would seem very extraordinary, if an inferior court in England should take a matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a *prorogation*, and decide it against the opinion of both houses.

It happens however, that although no persons were so bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made against this *patent* by the *high court of parliament* here, yet these objections stand good, notwithstanding the answers made by Mr Wood and his *council*.

The report says, that, upon an assay made of the fineness, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in every article. This is possible enough in the pieces upon which the assay was made; but Wood must have failed very much in point of dexterity, if he had not taken care to provide a sufficient quantity of such *half-pence* as would

would bear the trial; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of several parcels*; since it is now plain, that the bias of favour hath been wholly on his side.

But what need is there of disputing, when we have a positive demonstration of Wood's fraudulent practices in this point. I have seen a large quantity of these *half-pence* weighed by a very skilful person, which were of four different kinds, three of them considerably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between these four sorts; by which it appears, that the fourth sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thousand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and in the whole the public will be a loser of eighty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-eight pounds sixteen shillings, even supposing the metal in point of goodness to answer Wood's contract, and the *assay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewise been enquired into by very experienced men; who, upon several trials on many of these *half-pence*, have found them to be at least one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his *accomplices*, have already made of *his own coin*, and scattered about. Now the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lightest sort of his *half-pence*, will amount to one hundred twenty two thousand four hundred eighty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings; and, if we subtract a fourth part of the real value by the *base mixture* in the metal, we must add to the public loss one fourth part to be subtracted from the intrinsic value of the copper; which in three hundred and sixty tons amounts to ten thousand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the former sum of eighty-two thousand one hundred sixty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, will make in all ninety-two thousand two hundred forty-eight pounds loss to the public; besides the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *drofs* exclusive or inclusive with his three hundred and sixty tons of copper; which
however

however will make a considerable difference in the account.

You will here please to observe, that the profit allowed to Wood by the patent is twelve pence out of every pound of copper valued at 1s. 6d. whereas 5d. only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the English *half-pence*: and this difference is almost 25 per cent. which is double to the highest exchange of money, even under all the additional pressures and obstructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at present. This one circumstance, in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty pounds between English and Irish *half-pence*, even allowing those of Wood to be all of the heaviest sort.

It is likewise to be considered, that for every *half-penny* in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, sixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers easy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that these *half-pence* far exceed the like coinage for Ireland in the reigns of his majesty's predecessors: there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true; which however is altogether mistaken, not by any fault in the committee, but by the fraud and imposition of Wood, who certainly produced the worst patterns he could find; such as were coined in small numbers by *permissions to private men*, as *butchers half-pence*, *black-dogs*, and others the like; or perhaps the small St. Patrick's coin, which passeth now for a farthing, or at best some of the smallest *raps* of the latest kind. For I have now by me *half-pence* coined in the year 1680 by virtue of the patent granted to my lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox, and they are heavier by a ninth part than those of Wood, and of much better metal; and the great St. Patrick's *half-pence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the present debate: if under the various exigences of former times by wars, rebellions and insurrections, the kings of England were sometimes forced

ed to pay their armies here with mixt or base money ; God forbid that the necessities of turbulent times should be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and settlement.

In the *patent* abovementioned, granted to lord Dartmouth in the reign of king Charles the second and renewed to Knox, the securities given into the Exchequer, obliging the *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy against all inconveniencies ; and the *copper was coined in our kingdom* ; so that we were in no danger to purchase it with the loss of all our silver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to England for the redressing any abuse.

That the kings of England have exercised their prerogative of coining copper for Ireland and for England, is not the present question : but, to speak in the style of the *report*, it would seem a little extraordinary, supposing a king should think fit to exercise his *prerogative* by coining copper in Ireland to be current in England, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reasonable and whether the people desired it or no, and without regard to the addresses of his parliament against it. God forbid, that so mean a man as I should meddle with the king's *prerogative* : but I have heard very wise men say, that the king's *prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *good* and *welfare* of his *people*. I desire to know, whether it be not understood and avowed, that the good of Ireland was intended by this *patent* ? But Ireland is not consulted at all in the matter ; and, as soon as Ireland is informed of it, they declared against it : the *two houses of parliament* and the *privy-council* address his majesty upon the mischiefs apprehended by such a *patent* ; the *privy-council* in England take the matter out of the *parliament's* cognizance ; the good of this kingdom is dropt ; and it is now determined, that Mr Wood shall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can suppose, that such *patents* as these were originally granted with a view of being a *jobb* for the interest of a particular person to the damage of the public. Whatever profit must arise to the *patentee*, was surely meant

meant at best but as a secondary motive ; and since somebody must be a gainer, the choice of the person was made either by favour or *something else*, or by the pretence of merit and honesty : this argument returns so often and strongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his majesty, when he consented to the passing of this *patent*, *conceived* he was doing an act of grace to his most loyal subjects of Ireland, without any regard to Mr Wood, farther than as an *instrument* : but the people of Ireland think this *patent* (intended, no *doubt*, for their good) to be a most intolerable grievance ; and therefore Mr Wood can never succeed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred, not only before the *interest*, but the very *safety* and *being* of a great kingdom ; and a kingdom distinguished for its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth ; not turned from its duty by the *jurisdiction of the house of lords abolished at a stroke*, by the *hardships of the act of navigation newly enforced*, by all possible *obstructions in trade*, and by a hundred other instances, enough to fill this paper ; nor was there ever among us the least attempt towards an insurrection in favour of the *pretender*. Therefore, whatever justice a *free people* can claim, we have at least an *equal* title to it with our brethren in England ; and whatever grace a good prince can bestow on the most *loyal subjects*, we have reason to expect it : neither has this kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one *single, rapacious, obscure, ignominious projector*.

Among other clauses mentioned in this *patent* to shew how advantageous it is to Ireland, there is one which seems to be of a *singular nature* : that the patentee shall be obliged during his term to *pay eight hundred pounds a year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a year to the comptroller*. I have heard indeed, that the king's council do always consider in the passing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown ; but I have likewise heard, that it is at the same time considered, whether passing of it may be injurious to any other persons or bodies politic ? However, although the *attorney* and *solicitor* be servants to the king, and therefore bound to consult his majesty's interest ; yet I am under some doubt, whether eight hundred pounds a year to the crown would be equivalent

valent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid eight thousand pounds a year into his majesty's coffers in the midst of all our taxes (which in proportion are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in England, even during the war) than purchase such an addition to the revenue at the price of our *utter undoing*.

But here it is plain, that fourteen thousand pounds are to be paid by Wood only as a *small, circumstantial* charge for the purchase of his *patent*: what were his other *visible costs* I know not, and what were his *latent*, is variously conjectured; but he must be surely a man of some wonderful merit. Hath he saved any other kingdom at his own expence, to give him a title of re-imbursing himself by the *destruction* of ours? Hath he discovered the *longitude*, or the *universal medicine*? No; but he hath found the *philosopher's stone* after a new manner, by *debasing of copper*, and resolving to force it upon us for *gold*.

When the two houses represented to his majesty, that this *patent* to Wood was obtained in a *clandestine manner*, surely the committee could not think the parliament would insinuate, that it had not passed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquisites were due. They knew very well, that persons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late * *lord lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed, it was a *secret* to him; and who will doubt of his *veracity*, especially when he swore to a person of quality, from whom I had it, that Ireland should never be troubled with these *half-pence*. It was a *secret* to the people of Ireland, who were to be the *only sufferers*; and those who best know the state of the kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an affair, were wholly strangers to it.

It is allowed by the *report*, that this *patent* was passed without the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of Ireland: and it is there elaborately shewn, that *former patents have passed in the same manner*, and are *good in law*. I shall not dispute the legality of *patents*, but am ready to suppose it in his majesty's power to grant a *pa-*

* Duke of Grafton.

tent for stamping round bits of copper to every subject he hath. Therefore, to lay aside the point of law, I would only put the question, whether in *reason* and *justice* it would not have been proper in an affair, upon which the *welfare of the kingdom depends*, that the said kingdom should have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the *patentee* and the *officers of the crown*, who were to be the only gainers by it.

The *parliament*, who in matters of this nature are the most able and faithful counsellors, did represent this grant to be *destructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people*: to which the only answer is, that *the king hath a prerogative to make such a grant*.

It is asserted, that in the patent to Knox his *half-pence are made and declared the current coin of the kingdom*; whereas, in this to Wood there is only a *power given to issue them to such as will receive them*. The authors of the report, I think, do not affirm, that the king can, by *law*, declare *any thing* to be current money by his letters patents. I dare say they will not affirm it; and if Knox's patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his majesty's *just and merciful reign*? But although that clause be not in Wood's patent, yet possibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that, where *by a power is given to William Wood, to break into houses in search of any coin made in imitation of his*. This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the subject; yet this is a *precedent* taken from Knox's patent, where the same power is granted; and is a strong instance, what uses may be sometimes made of *precedents*.

But although, before the passing of this patent, it was not thought necessary to consult any persons of this kingdom, or make the least enquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long passed, when Wood hath already coined seventeen thousand pounds, and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin *six times* as much more, the committee hath been pleased to make this affair the subject of enquiry: Wood is permitted to produce his evidences, which consist, as I have already

ready observed, of four in number, whereof Coleby, B——, and Mr Finley the banker are three. And these were to prove that copper money was extremely wanted in Ireland. The first had been out of the kingdom almost twenty years, from the time that he was tried for *robbing the treasury*; and therefore his *knowledge* and *credibility* are equal. Mr Finley, one of the other witnesses, honestly confessed that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper money or no; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a *large discount*, and sell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thousand pounds for himself.

But suppose there were not one single half-penny of copper coin in this whole kingdom; (which Mr Wood seems to intend, unless we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emissaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the shilling more than they pass for) it could not be any *real evil* to us, although it might be some *inconvenience*. We have many sorts of small silver coins, to which they are strangers in England; such as the French *three-pences*, *four-pence half-pennies*, and *eight-pence farthings*, the Scotch *five-pence* and *ten-pences*, besides their *twenty-pences* and *three and four-pences*, by which we are able to make change to a half-penny of almost any piece of gold or silver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a *sealed card* with the little gold and silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but Wood's adulterated copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *patent*, nor *HITHERTO able* by his *estate*, to make good.

The report farther tells us, it *must be admitted*, that *letters patents*, under the great seal of Great Britain, for coining copper-money for Ireland, are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of his majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of his subjects of Ireland. First, we desire to know, why his majesty's prerogative might not have been as well asserted by passing this patent in Ireland, and subjecting the several conditions of the contract to the inspection of those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents, for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, since the mixt money in queen Elizabeth's

Elizabeth's time, during the difficulties of a rebellion : whereas now upon the greatest imposition, that can possibly be practised, we must go to England with our complaints ; where it hath been for some time the fashion to think and to affirm that *we cannot be too hardly used*. Again the *report* says, that *such patents are obligatory*. After long thinking I am not able to find out, what can possibly be meant here by this word *obligatory*. The patent of Wood neither *obligeth* him to utter his coin, nor us to take it ; or if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no patent can *oblige* the subject against law ; unless an illegal patent passed in *one* kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itself.

Lastly, it is added, that *such patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of the king's subjects of Ireland*. If this proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expressed or implied, it must follow, that a king of England may at any time coin copper money for Ireland, and oblige his subjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practised by the late king James ; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuse from the necessity and exigences of his affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory nor invasive of any liberties or privileges of the subjects of Ireland*, it ought to have been expressed what our *liberties and privileges* are, and whether we have any at all ; for in specifying the word Ireland, instead of saying *his majesty's subjects*, it would seem to insinuate, that we are not upon the same foot with our fellow-subjects in England ; which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted ; for I do not understand that Poyning's act deprived us of our *liberty*, but only *changed the manner* of passing laws here (which however was a *power* most indirectly obtained) by leaving the negative to the two houses of parliament. But waving all controversies relating to the legislature, no person, I believe, was ever yet so bold as to affirm, that the people of Ireland have not the same title to the benefits of the *common law* with the rest of his majesty's subjects ; and therefore whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by *common law*, we of Ireland have the same ; so
that,

that, in my humble opinion, the word Ireland standing in that proposition was in the mildest interpretation a *lapse of the pen*.

The report farther asserts, that *the precedents are many, wherein cases of great importance to Ireland, and which immediately affected the interests of that kingdom, such as warrants, orders and directions by the authority of the king and his predecessors, have been issued under the royal sign manual, without any previous reference or advice of his majesty's officers of Ireland, which have always had their due force, and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed.* It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because it may prove an eternal source of discontent. However, among all these *precedents*, there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of *precedents*. If a jobb is to be done, and upon searching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to justify the legality of it by producing his *precedents*; without ever considering the motives and circumstances that first introduced them; the necessity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of ministers, or the arbitrary disposition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by persons eminent in the law, that the worst actions, which human nature is capable of, may be justified by the same doctrine. How the the first *precedents* began of determining cases of the highest importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its interests, without any previous reference or advice to the king's officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the submission of Tyrone in the last year of queen Elizabeth's reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various scene of war and peace between the English *pale* and the Irish natives; and the government of that part of this island, which lay in the English hands, was in many things under the immediate administration of the king: silver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at least upon great necessity a mixt or base metal was sent from England. The reign of king James I. was employed in settling the kingdom after Tyrone's rebellion; and this nation flourished extremely till the time

of the massacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in Dublin.

By all that I can discover, the copper coin of Ireland, for three hundred years past, consisted of small pence and half-pence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and districts, according to the personal credit of the owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof I have seen many sorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for Ireland, till the reign of king Charles the second, which was in the year 1680, to George Legge Lord Dartmouth; and renewed by king James the second, in the first year of his reign (1680) to John Knox. Both patents were passed in Ireland; and in both the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or silver.

The patents both of Lord Dartmouth and Knox were referred to the attorney-general here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already said, were passed in this kingdom. Knox had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to Lord Dartmouth; the patent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by Roger Moor to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; and upon the report of the attorney and solicitor, that it was not for his majesty's service, or the interest of the nation to have it renewed, it was rejected by king William. It should therefore seem very *extraordinary*, that a patent for coining copper half-pence, intended and professed for the good of the kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this upon the application of a *poor, private, obscure mechanic*; and a patent of such a nature, that as soon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being passed, they cry out unanimously against it as *ruinous and destructive*. The representatives of the nation in parliament, and the privy-council address the king to have it recalled; yet the *patentee*, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private interest shall weigh
down

down the application of a whole kingdom. St Paul says, *All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient.* We are answered, that this patent is *lawful*: but is it *expedient*? We read, that the high priest said, *It was expedient that one man should die for the people*; and this was a most wicked proposition: but that a *whole nation should die for one man*, was never heard of before.

But because much weight is laid on the *precedents* of other patents for *coining copper* for Ireland, I will set this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at least could be produced of copper coined for Ireland by virtue of patents passed in England; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one *precedent* shewn of a patent passed in England for coining copper for Ireland for above an hundred years past; and if there were any before, it must be in times of confusion. The only *patents* I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned to Lord Dartmouth and Knox, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare these patents with that granted to Wood. First, the patent to Knox, which was under the same conditions as that granted to Lord Dartmouth, was passed in Ireland; the government and the *attorney and solicitor general* making report, that it would be useful to this kingdom.

The patent was passed with the advice of the *king's council* here; the *patentee* was obliged to receive his coin from those who thought themselves *furcharged*, and to give *gold and silver* for it. Lastly, the *patentee* was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum* to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; first, I find the *half-pence* were *milled*, which, as it is of great use to prevent counterfeits, (and therefore industriously avoided by Wood) so it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and goodness of the metal, I have several *half-pence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than those coined by Wood; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impression is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to some of Wood's by a *fraud* natural to such *patentees*;

but not so immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumstance Mr Wood must serve for a *precedent in future times*.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to William Wood. It passed upon very false suggestions of his own and of a few confederates: it passed in England without the least reference hither; it passed unknown to the very *lord lieutenant*, then in England. Wood is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thousand pounds, and *all the officers in the kingdom* (civil and military) are *commanded* in the report to *countenance and assist him*. Knox had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged to *receive his coin back again at our demand*, and to *enter into security for so doing*. Wood's half-pence are not *milled*, and therefore more easily counterfeited by *himself*, as well as by others. Wood pays a thousand pounds *per annum* for fourteen years; Knox paid only sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the *report*, that set me the example of making a comparison between those two patents, wherein the *committee* was grossly misled by the false representation of William Wood; as it was by another assertion, that seven hundred tons of copper were coined during the twenty-one years of Lord Dartmouth's and Knox's patents. Such a quantity of copper, at the rate of two shillings and eight pence *per pound*, would amount to about an hundred and ninety thousand pounds; which was very near as much as the current cash of the kingdom in those days; yet, during that period, Ireland was never known to have too much copper coin; and for several years there was no coining at all: besides, I am assured, that upon enquiring into the custom-house books all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the twenty-one (besides one year allowed for the troubles) did not exceed forty-seven tons. And we cannot suppose even that small quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: so that I believe there was never any comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the design for which it was produced.

The *psalmist* reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he selleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them*.

them. That we have greatly offended God by the wickedness of our lives, is not to be disputed; but our king: we have not offended in word or deed: and although he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not punish us for any offences, except those we shall commit against his legal authority, his sacred person (which God preserve) or the laws of the land.

The *report* is very profuse in arguments, that Ireland is in great want of copper money: who were the witnesses to prove it, hath been shewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be *judges*: Does not the nation best know its own wants? Both houses of *parliament*, the *privy-council*, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we desire they may not be supplied by Mr Wood: we know our own wants but too well; they are *many*, and *grievous* to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let England be satisfied: as things go, they will in a short time have all our gold and silver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchase it with our manufactures, which Wood hath graciously offered to accept. Our *wants* are not so bad by a hundredth part as the method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tried his faculty in New-England; and I hope he will meet at least with an *equal reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to public intelligence. I am supposing a wild case; that if there should be any person already receiving a monstrous pension out of this kingdom, who was instrumental in procuring the *patent*, they have either not well consulted their own interests, or Wood must put more dross into his copper, and still diminish its weight.

Upon Wood's complaint, that the officers of the king's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin; the *report* says, that *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding*, and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The *committee* say, they cannot advise his majesty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the said coin, as hath been desired in the addresses of both houses; but, on the contrary, they think it both just and reasonable, that the

54 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

king should immediately give orders to the commissioners of the revenue, etc. to revoke all orders, etc. that may have been given by them to hinder or obstruct the receiving the said coin. And accordingly, we are told, such orders are arrived. Now this was a cast of Wood's politics; for his information was wholly false and groundless, which he knew very well; and that the commissioners of the revenue here were all, except one, sent us from England, and love their employments too well to have taken such a step: but Wood was wise enough to consider, that such orders of *revocation* would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noise, and possibly create some terror in the poor people of Ireland. And one great point he hath gained, that although any orders of revocation will be needless, yet a new order is to be sent (and perhaps is already here) to the commissioners of the revenue, and all the king's officers in Ireland, that Wood's *half-pence* be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial of any of the king's officers or ministers whatsoever, to pass, and be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive them. In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all officers both civil and military, from the lord high chancellor to a justice of peace, and from the general to an ensign; so that Wood's project is not likely to fail for want of managers enough. For my own part, as things stand, I have but little regret to find myself out of the number; and therefore I shall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-subjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much quicker and larger steps than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needless to argue any longer. The matter is come to an issue. His majesty, pursuant to the law, hath left the field open between Wood and the kingdom of Ireland. Wood hath liberty to offer his coin, and we have law, reason, liberty, and necessity to refuse it. A knavish jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words *voluntary, and willing to receive* it, will be understood

derstood and applied in their true natural meaning, as commonly understood by protestants. For if a fierce captain comes to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with a sack of Wood's coin upon his shoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my scarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the word of command to receive my money in Wood's coin and calls me a *disaffected, jacobite dog*, for refusing it (although I am as loyal a subject as himself, and without hire) and thereupon seizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: in this case I shall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own will*. I shall therefore on such occasions first order the porter aforesaid to go off with his pack; and then see the money in *silver and gold* in my possession, before I cut or measure my cloth. But if a *common soldier* drinks his pot first, and then offers payment in Wood's *half-pence*, the *landlady* may be under some difficulty; for if she complains to his *captain or ensign*, they are likewise *officers* included in this general order for encouraging these *half-pence* to pass as *current money*. If she goes to a *justice of peace*, he is also an *officer*, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content for some reasons, that the *military gentlemen* had been excepted by name; because I have heard it said, that their discipline is best confined within their own district.

His majesty, in the conclusion of his answer to the address of the house of lords against Wood's coin, is pleased to say, that *he will do every thing in his power to the satisfaction of his people*. It should seem therefore, that the recalling the patent is not to be understood as a thing in his power. But however, since the law doth not oblige us to receive this coin, and consequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preserve us from ruin, but that the whole kingdom should continue in a firm, determinate resolution never to receive or utter this *fatal coin*. After which let the *officers*, to whom these orders are directed (I would wil-

lingly except the *military*) come with their *exhortations*, their *arguments*, and their *eloquence*, to persuade us to find our interest in our undoing. Let Wood and his *accomplices* travel about the country with *cart-loads* of their *ware*, and see who will take it off their hands; there will be no fear of his being robbed; for a *highway-man* would scorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the *commissioners* of the *revenue* will proceed in this juncture; because, I am told, they are obliged by act of parliament to take nothing but *gold* and *silver* in payment for his majesty's *customs*: and I think they cannot justly offer this coinage of Mr Wood to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

The sum of the whole is this: the *committee* advises the king to send immediate orders to all his officers here, that Wood's coin be suffered and permitted without any let, suit, trouble, etc. to pass, and to be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive the same. It is probable, that the first willing receivers may be those, who must receive it whether they will or no, at least under the penalty of losing an office. But the landed *undependent men*, the *merchants*, the *shop-keepers*, and bulk of the people, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the consequence be? the owners will sell it for as much as they can get. Wood's *half-pence* will come to be offered for six a penny (yet then he will be a sufficient gainer) and the *necessary receivers* will be losers of two thirds in their *salaries* or *pay*.

This puts me in mind of a passage I was told many years ago in England. At a quarter session at Leicester the justices had wisely decreed to take off a *half-penny* in a quart from the price of ale. One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus: *Gentlemen, you have made an order, that ale should be sold in our county for three-half-pence a quart; I desire you will now make another to appoint who must drink it: for by G—— I will not.*

I must beg leave to caution your *lordships* and *wor-ships* in one particular. Wood hath graciously promised

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to load us at present only with forty thousand pounds of his coin, *until the exigencies of the kingdom require the rest*. I intreat you will never suffer Mr Wood to be a judge of your *exigencies*. While there is one piece of *silver* or *gold* left in the kingdom, he will call it an *exigency*. He will double his present *quantum* by stealth as soon as he can; he will pour his own *raps* and *counterfeits* upon us; France and Holland will do the same; nor will our own coiners at home be behind them: to confirm which, I have now in my pocket a *rap*, or counterfeit half-penny, in imitation of his; but so ill performed, that in my conscience I believe it is not of his coining.

I must now desire your *lordships* and *worships*, that you will give great allowance for this long undigested paper. I find myself to have gone into several repetitions, which were the effects of haste, while new thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm, that I have fully answered every paragraph in the report; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the spirit of a pleader, who can find the most plausible topics in behalf of his client, yet there was no great skill required to detect the many mistakes contained in it; which however are by no means to be charged upon the right honourable *committee*, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent representations of Wood and his accomplices. I desire one particular may dwell upon your minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; that after all the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not one produced in the whole report, of a patent for coining copper in England to pass in Ireland; and only two patents referred to, (for indeed there were no more) which were both passed in Ireland, by references to the king's council here, both less advantageous to the coiner than this of Wood; and in both, *securities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and silver in lieu of it*. This demonstrates the most flagrant falsehood and impudence of Wood, by which he would endeavour to make the right honourable *committee* his instruments (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain) to ruin a kingdom, which has deserved quite different treatment.

I am very sensible, that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All the assistance I had, were some informations from an eminent *person*; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the case of David, who *could not move in the armour of Saul*; and therefore I rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised* Philistine (Wood I mean) *with a sling and a stone*. And I may say for Wood's honour, as well as my own, that he resembles Goliath in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose: for Goliath had a *helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass, and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders*. In short, he was like Mr Wood, all over *brass*, and he *defied the armies of the living God*. Goliath's conditions of combat were likewise the same with those of Wood: *if he prevail against us, then shall we be his servants*. But if it happens that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he shall never be a *servant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any *honest man's shop*.

I will conclude with my humble desire and request, which I made in my second letter, that your *lordships* and *worships* would please to order a *declaration* to be drawn up, expressing in the strongest terms your resolutions never to receive or utter any of Wood's half-pence, or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the said *declaration* may be signed by as many persons as possible *, who have estates in this kingdom, and be sent down to your several tenants aforesaid.

And if the dread of Wood's half-pence should continue until next *quarter-sessions*, which I hope it will not,

* A declaration pursuant to this request was signed soon after by the most considerable persons of the kingdom, which was universally spread, and of great use.

L E T T E R I I I .

59

the gentlemen of every county will then have a fair opportunity of declaring against them with unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greatest respect,

(may it please your lordships and worships,)

your most dutiful and

obedient servant,

Aug. 25, 1724.

M. B.

LETTER

LETTER IV.

To the whole PEOPLE of IRELAND.

My dear countrymen,

HAVING already written three LETTERS upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr Wood and his *half-pence*, I conceived my task was at an end; but I find that cordials must be frequently applied to weak constitutions, *political* as well as *natural*. A people long used to hardships lose by degrees the very notions of *liberty*; they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions laid on them by a stronger hand are, in the phrase of the report, *legal* and *obligatory*. Hence proceed that *poverty* and *lowness* of *spirit*, to which a *kingdom* may be *subject*, as well as a *particular person*. And when Esau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he sold his *birth-right* for a *mess of pottage*.

I thought I had sufficiently shewn to all who could want instruction, by what methods they might safely proceed, whenever this *coin* should be offered to them: and I believe, there hath not been for many ages an example of any kingdom so firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is at present against that detestable fraud. But however, it so happens, that some weak people begin to be alarmed a-new by rumours industriously spread. Wood prescribes to the news-mongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers published here by some obscure printer (and certainly with a bad design) we are told, that the *papists* in Ireland have entered into an *association* against his *coin*: although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the matter; so that the two houses of parliament, the privy council, the great numbers of corporations, the lord-mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand-juries, and

and principal gentlemen of several counties, are stigmatized in a lump under the name of *papists*.

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out, that by refusing to receive his dross for sterling, we *dispute the king's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England*. To countenance which reports he hath published a paragraph in another news paper to let us know, that *the lord lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his half-pence*.

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the least concern upon these, and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These calumnies are the only reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled loyalty will never be called in question for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure *iron-monger*.

As to disputing the king's *prerogative*, give me leave to explain to those who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word, *prerogative*, is.

The kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed; so they can make war and peace without the consent of parliament, and this is a very great *prerogative*: but if the parliament doth not approve of the war, the king must bear the charge of it out of his own purse; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the king hath a *prerogative* to coin money without consent of parliament: but he cannot compel the subject to take that money, except it be sterling, gold or silver; because herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein however the lawyers of succeeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to justify them. But to say the truth, it is only of late times that *prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For whoever reads the history of England will find, that some former kings, and those none of the worst, have upon several occasions ventured to controul the laws, with very little ceremony or scruple, even later than the days of queen Elizabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counsel of sending *base money* hither very narrowly

rowly failed of losing the kingdom; being complained of by the lord deputy, the council, and the whole body of the English here: so that, soon after her death, it was recalled by her successor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you some notion of what is meant by the king's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradesman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great lord Bacon, that, 'as God governs the world by the settled laws of nature, which he hath made and never transcends those laws but upon high, important occasions: so among earthly princes, those are the wisest and the best, who govern by the known laws of the country, and seldomest make use of their *prerogative*.'

Now here you may see, that the vile accusation of Wood and his *accomplices*, charging us with *disputing the king's prerogative* by refusing his brads, can have no place; because compelling the subject to take any coin, which is not sterling, is no part of the king's *prerogative*; and I am very confident, if it were so, we should be the last of his people to dispute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his majesty, as from the treatment we might in such a case justly expect from *some*, who seem to think, we have neither *common sense*, nor *common senses*. But, God be thanked, the best of them are only our *fellow-subjects*, and not our *masters*. One great merit I am sure we have, which those of English birth can have no pretence to, that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a *worse climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent, a ruined trade, a house of *peers* without *jurisdiction*, almost an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's half-pence.

But we are so far from disputing the king's *prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan, only attended with one small limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them*.

Upon

Upon these considerations I was ever against all recourse to England for a remedy against the present impending evil; especially when I observed, that the addresses of both houses after long expectance produced nothing but a report altogether in favour of Wood: upon which I made some observations in a former letter, and might at least have made as many more; for it is a paper of as singular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake; for before this report was made, his majesty's *most gracious answer* to the house of lords was sent over, and printed; wherein are these words, *granting the patent for coining half-pence and farthings, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, etc.* That king Charles II. and king James II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpose, is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large. Their patents were passed under the great seal of Ireland, by references to Ireland, the copper to be coined in Ireland; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in Ireland, and pay silver and gold in return. Wood's patent was made under the great seal of England, the brass coined in England, not the least reference made to Ireland; the sum immense, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, because in my private thoughts I have sometimes made a query, whether the penner of those words in his majesty's *most gracious answer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several circumstances, which in my poor opinion seem to make a difference *

Let me now say something concerning the other great cause of some people's fear, as Wood has taught the London news-writer to express it, that *his excellency the lord lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's half-pence.*

We know very well, that the lords lieutenants for several years past have not thought this kingdom *worthy the honour of their residence*, longer than was absolutely necessary for the king's business; which consequently *wanted no speed in the dispatch.* And therefore it naturally fell into most men's thoughts that a new governor,

* See the note at the end of this letter.

coming

coming at an *unusual* time, must portend some *unusual* business to be done; especially if the common report be true, that the parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is by a new summons revoking that prorogation to assemble soon after his arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on t'other side the water have by great good fortune found two *precedents*.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that so *little a creature as* Wood could find credit enough with the king and his ministers to have the lord lieutenant of Ireland sent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as it lies before us, without the refinements of some people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great seal of England, upon false suggestions, to one William Wood for coining copper *half-pence* for Ireland: the parliament here, upon apprehensions of the worst consequences from the said patent, address the king to have it recalled: this is refused, and a committee of the privy council *report* to his majesty, that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his *half-pence*, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here being likewise left to themselves unite as one man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his ware. By this plain account of the fact it is manifest, that the king and his ministry are wholly out of the case, and the matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to persuade me, that a lord lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great haste before the ordinary time, and a parliament summoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put an hundred thousand pounds into the pocket of a *sharp* by the ruin of a most loyal kingdom.

But supposing all this to be true: by what arguments could a lord lieutenant prevail on the same parliament, which addressed with so much zeal and earnestness against this evil, to pass it into a law? I am sure their opinion of Wood and his project are not mended since their last prorogation; and supposing those *methods* should be used, which *detractors* tell us have been sometimes put in practice for *gaining votes*, it is well known, that in this kingdom

kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is *as well known* to whose share they must fall.

But, because great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you some reasons, why there are so few employments to be disposed of in this kingdom. All considerable offices for life here are possessed by those, to whom the reversions were granted; and these have been generally followers of the chief governors, or persons who had interest in the court of England; so the lord Berkley of Stratton holds that great office of *master of the rolls*; the lord Palmerstown is *first remembrancer*, worth near 2000*l.* *per. annum*. One Dodington, secretary to the earl of Pembroke, begged the reversion of *clerk of the pells* worth 2500*l.* a year, which he now enjoys by the death of the lord Newtown. Mr Southwell is secretary of state, and the earl of Burlington lord high treasurer of Ireland by inheritance. These are only a few among many others, which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reversions of several employments during pleasure is granted the same way. This among many others is a circumstance, whereby the kingdom of Ireland is distinguished from all other nations upon earth and makes it so difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called *keeper of the records in Bermingham's tower*, of ten pounds a year, and to get a salary of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown either for curiosity or use. And we lately saw * a favourite secretary descend to be *master of the revels*, which by his credit and extortion he hath made pretty considerable. I say nothing of the under-treasurership worth about 9000*l.* a year, nor of the commissioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in England; for I think none of these are granted in reversion. But the jest is, that I have known upon occasion some of these absent officers as *keen* against the interest of Ireland, as if they had never been indebted to her for a *single groat*.

I confess I have been sometimes tempted to wish, that

* Mr Hopkins, secretary to the Duke of Grafton.

this

this project of Wood might succeed; because I reflected with some pleasure, what a *jolly crew* it would bring over among us of *lords*, and *squires*, and *penfioners* of *both sexes*, and officers *civil* and *military*, where we should live together as merry and sociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we should neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to cloath us, unless we could be content to *prance* about in *coats of mail*, or eat *brass* as ostriches do *iron*.

I return from this digression to that which gave me the occasion of making it; and I believe you are now convinced, that if the parliament of Ireland were as *temptable* as any other assembly within a mile of Christendom (which God forbid;) yet the *managers* must of necessity fail for want of *tools* to work with. But I will yet go one step further by supposing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpose to gratify *compliers*: yet still an insuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *money* is neither *whig* nor *tory*, neither of *town* nor *country* party; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuse to live upon his *own estate*, which brings him *gold* and *silver*, than with the addition of an *employment*, when his *rents* and *salary* must both be paid in Wood's brass at above eighty *per cent.* discount.

For these, and many other reasons, I am confident you need not be under the least apprehensions from the sudden expectation of the *lord lieutenant* *, while we continue in our present hearty disposition, to alter which no suitable temptation can possibly be offered. And if, as I have often asserted from the best authority, the *law* hath not left a *power* in the *crown* to force any money, except sterling, upon the subject; much less can the crown *devolve* such a *power* upon another.

This I speak with the utmost respect to the *person* and *dignity* of his excellency the lord Carteret, whose character was lately given me by a gentleman, that hath known him from his first appearance in the world: that gentleman describes him as a young man of great accomplishments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of

* Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

much spirit and vivacity. He hath since, as I have heard been employed abroad ; was principal secretary of state ; and is now about the thirty-seventh year of his age appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. From such a governor this kingdom may reasonably hope for as much prosperity as, *under so many discouragements*, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of so much dexterity, as to carry points of terrible consequence to this kingdom by their power with *those who are in office* ; and by their arts in managing or deluding others with *oaths, affability*, and even with *dinners*. If Wood's brass had in those times been upon the *anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. *Depending* persons would have been told in plain terms, that it was a ' service expected from them under the pain of the public ' business being put into more complying hands.' Others would be allured by *promises*. To the *country gentlemen*, besides *good words, burgundy*, and *closetting*, it might perhaps have been hinted, how ' kindly it would ' be taken to comply with a royal patent, although it were ' not compulsory : ' that if any inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other *graces or favours hereafter* : that ' gentlemen ought to consider, whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England : ' they would be desired to ' think of some good bills for encouraging of trade, ' and setting the poor to work ; some further acts against ' popery, and for uniting protestants.' There would be solemn engagements, that we should ' never be troubled with ' above forty thousand pounds in his coin, and all of the ' best and weightiest sort, for which we should only give ' our manufactures in exchange, and keep our gold and ' silver at home.' Perhaps ' a seasonable report of some ' invasion would have been spread in the most proper juncture ; ' which is a great smother of rubs in public proceedings : and we should have been told, that ' this was no ' time to create differences, when the kingdom was in ' danger.'

These, I say, and the like methods, would in corrupt times have been taken to let in this deluge of *brass* among us. And, I am confident, even then would not have succeeded ;

succeeded; much less under the administration of so excellent a person as the lord CARTERET; and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their posterity for ever, will be dated from the admission of that execrable coin: that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate quantity, than a *plague* can be confined to a few families; and that no *equivalent* can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcase can be recovered to life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumstance in this universal opposition to Mr Wood, that the people sent over hither from England to *fill up our vacancies, ecclesiastical, civil, and military*, are all on our side. Money, the great *divider* of the world, hath by a strange revolution been the great *uniter* of a most *divided* people. Who would leave a hundred pounds a year in England (*a country of freedom*) to be paid a thousand in Ireland out of Wood's exchequer? The *gentleman* they have lately made *primate**, would never quit his seat in an English house of lords, and his preferments at Oxford and Bristol worth twelve hundred pounds a year, for four times the denomination here, but not half the value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an Irishman at least upon *this one article* as any of his brethren, or even of us, who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this island. For those who, in the common phrase, do not *come hither to learn the language*, would never change a better country for a worse to receive *brass* instead of *gold*.

Another slander spread by Wood and his emissaries is, that by opposing him we discover an inclination to *shake off our dependence upon the crown of England*. Pray observe how important a person is this same William Wood; and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private interest. First, all those who refuse to take his coin are *papists*; for he tells us, that *none but papists are associated against him*. Secondly, they *dispute the king's prerogative*. Thirdly, they are *ripe for rebellion*. And, fourthly, they are going to *shake off their dependence upon the crown of England*; that is to say, they

* Dr Hugh Boulter.

are going to chuse another king; for there can be no other meaning in this expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to those who are ignorant another point, which hath often *swelled in my breast*. Those who come over hither to us from England, and some *weak* people among ourselves, whenever in discourse we make mention of *liberty* and *property*, shake their heads, and tell us, that † Ireland is a *depending kingdom*, as if they would seem by this phrase to intend, that the people of Ireland are in some state of slavery or dependence different from those of England: whereas a *depending kingdom* is a *modern term of art*, unknown, as I have heard to all ancient *civilians*, and *writers upon government*; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in some statutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a style as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expression, a *depending kingdom*, there is no more to be understood than that, by a statute made here in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. 'the king, and his successors, are to be kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of England.' I have looked over all the English and Irish statutes without finding any law, that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England doth upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have *the same king with them*; and consequently they are obliged to have *the same king with us*. For the law was made by *our own parliament*; and our ancestors then were not such *fools* (*whatever they were in the preceding reign*) to bring themselves under I know not what *dependence*, which is now talked of, without any ground of *law, reason, or common sense*.

Let whoever think otherwise, I, M. B. *drapier*, desire to be excepted: for I declare, next under God I depend only on the king my sovereign, and on the laws of my own country. And I am so far from *depending* upon the people of England, that, if they should ever *rebel* against my sovereign, (which God forbid) I would be ready at the first command from his majesty to take

† See the note at the end of this letter.

arms against them, as some of *my* countrymen did against *theirs* at Preston. And if such a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of England, I would venture to transgress that *statute* so far, as to lose every drop of my blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland †.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of England have *sometimes* assumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as *truth*, *reason*, and *justice* are capable of *opposing*) by the famous Mr Molineux, an English gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and *best whigs* in England; but the *love* and *torrent* of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both sides were invincible. For in *reason*, all *government* without the consent of the *governed*, is the very definition of *slavery*: but in fact, 'even men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt.' But I have done: for those who have used *power* to cramp *liberty*, have gone so far as to resent even the *liberty* of *complaining*; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of *roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to *sink* too much under *unreasonable* fears, so we are too soon inclined to be *raised* by groundless hopes, according to the nature of all *consumptive* bodies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for several days past, that *somebody* in England empowered a second *somebody* to write to a third *somebody* here to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with these half-pence*. And this is reported to have been done by the *same person*, who is said to have sworn some months ago, that he would *ram them down their throats*, (though I doubt they would *stick in our stomachs*;) but which ever of these reports be true or false, it is no concern of ours. For *in this point* we have nothing to do with English *ministers*: and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance, or to enforce it; for the *report of the committee* hath given me a *surfeit*.

† This paragraph gave great offence. See letter V.

§ Mr Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

The remedy is wholly in your own hands ; and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that *spirit* so seasonably raised amongst you ; and to let you see, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be, as FREE a people as your brethren in England.

If the pamphlets published at London by Wood and his *journeymen* in defence of his cause were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked design, more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect *saint* in comparison of what he appears to be from the writings of those, whom he *hires* to justify his *project*. But he is so far *master of the field*, (*let others guess the reason*) that no London printer dare publish any paper written in favour of Ireland : and here no body hath yet been so *bold* as to publish any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few days ago, a pamphlet sent me of near fifty pages written in favour of Mr Wood and his coinage, printed in London : it is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here. But it gave me occasion to reflect upon an unhappiness we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our case ; which however is no wonder, since it is a point they do not in the least concern themselves about, farther than perhaps as a subject of discourse in a coffee-house when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have reason to believe, that no *minister* ever gave himself the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, because I suppose their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices ; else it would be impossible, that any man could have the impudence to write such a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our *neighbours*, whose *understandings are just upon a level with ours* (which perhaps are none of the *brightest*) have a strong contempt for most nations, but especially for Ireland. They look upon us as a sort of *savage* Irish, whom our ancestors conquered several hundred years ago. And if I should describe the Britons to you as they were in Cæsar's time, when they *painted their bodies, or clothed*

clothed themselves with the skins of beasts, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused in relation to the present subject, that hearing only *one side of the cause*, and having neither opportunity nor curiosity to examine the *other*, they *believe a lie* merely for their ease; and conclude, because Mr Wood pretends to have *power*, he hath also *reason* on his side.

Therefore, to let you see how this case is represented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of those notorious falsehoods in point of *fact* and *reasoning* contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their *own* right sentiments, when they will see, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

First, the writer positively asserts, 'that Wood's halfpence were current among us for several months, with the universal approbation of all people, without one single gainsayer; and we all, to a man, thought ourselves happy in having them.'

Secondly, he affirms, 'that we were drawn into a dislike of them only by some cunning, evil-designing men among us, who opposed this patent of Wood to get another for themselves.'

Thirdly, that 'those, who most declared at first against Wood's patent, were the very men who intend to get another for their own advantage.'

Fourthly, that 'our parliament and privy-council, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries and merchants, and in short the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs (as he expresseth it) were fond of those halfpence, till they were inflamed by those few designing persons aforesaid.'

Fifthly, he says directly, that 'all those who opposed the halfpence, were papists, and enemies to king George.'

Thus far, I am confident, the most ignorant among you can safely swear from your own knowledge, that the author is a most notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole kingdom, that, if occasion required, we might get it confirmed under *five hundred thousand hands*.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, he would persuade us, that ‘ if we sell five shillings worth of our goods or manufactures for two shillings and four-pence worth of copper, although the copper were melted down, and that we could get five shillings in gold and silver for the said goods; yet to take the said two shillings and four-pence in copper would be greatly for our advantage.’

And, lastly, he makes us a very fair offer, as empowered by Wood, that ‘ if we will take off two hundred thousand pounds in his half-pence for our goods, and likewise pay him three *per cent.* interest for thirty years for an hundred and twenty thousand pounds’ (at which he computes the coinage above the intrinsic value of the copper) ‘ for the loan of his coin, he will after that time give us good money for what half-pence will be then left.’

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can, to shew the insupportable villainy and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. First (says he) ‘ I will send two hundred thousand pounds of my coin into your country: the copper I compute to be, in real value, eighty thousand pounds, and I charge you with an hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the coinage; so that you see, I lend you an hundred and twenty thousand pounds for thirty years; for which you shall pay me three *per cent.* that is to say, three thousand six hundred pounds *per annum*, which in thirty years will amount to an hundred and eight thousand pounds. And when these thirty years are expired, return me my copper, and I will give you good money for it.’

This is the proposal made to us by Wood in that pamphlet written by one of his *commissioners*: and the author is supposed to be the same infamous Coleby, one of his *under-swearers* at the *committee of council*, who was tried for *robbing the treasury here*, where he was an under-clerk.

By this proposal he will first receive two hundred thousand pounds, in goods or sterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thousand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thousand pounds. Secondly, he will receive for interest an hundred and eight thousand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to return his *half-pence* upon his executors, (for before that time

he will be probably gone to *his own place*) those executors will very reasonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of such a *dealer* as this, who mends every day upon our hands like a Dutch reckoning, wherein if you dispute the unreasonableness and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord shall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although these and the like pamphlets published by Wood in London are altogether unknown here, where no body could read them without as much *indignation*, as *contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give you a specimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him; while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our silence: and the English in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refusal to *wilfulness* or *disaffection*, just as Wood and his *hirelings* are pleased to represent.

But although our arguments are not suffered to be printed in England, yet the consequence will be of little moment. Let Wood endeavour to persuade the people there, that we ought to *receive* his coin; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to *reject* it under pain of our utter undoing; and then let him do his *best* and his *worst*.

Before I conclude, I must beg leave in all humility to tell Mr Wood, that he is guilty of great *indiscretion* by causing so honourable a name as that of Mr Walpole to be mentioned so often and in such a manner upon this occasion. A short paper printed at Bristol, and reprinted here, reports Mr Wood to say, that he *wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish in refusing his coin, and what he will do when Mr Walpole comes to town*. Where, by the way, he is mistaken; for it is the *true English people* of Ireland who refuse it, although we take it for granted, that the Irish will do so too whenever they are asked. In another printed paper of his contriving it is roundly expressed, that Mr Walpole will *cram his brass down our throats*. Sometimes it is given out, that we must *either take these half-pence, or eat our brogues*: and in another news-letter, but of yesterday, we read, that the

the same great man *hath sworn to make us swallow his coin in fire-balls.*

This brings to my mind the known story of a Scotch man, who receiving the sentence of death with all the circumstances of *banging, beheading, quartering, embowelling*, and the like, cried out, *what need all this COOKERY?* and I think we have reason to ask the same question; for, if we believe Wood, here is a *dinner* getting ready for us; and you see the *bill of fare*; and I am sorry the *drink* was forgot, which might easily be supplied with *melted lead and flaming pitch.*

What vile words are these to put into the mouth of a great counsellor, in high trust with his majesty, and looked upon as a prime minister? If Mr Wood hath no better a manner of representing his patrons, when I come to be a *great man* he shall never be suffered to attend at my *levee*. This is not the style of a great minister; it favours too much of the *ketile* and the *furnace*, and came entirely out of Wood's *forge.*

As for the threat of making us *eat our brogues*, we need not be in pain; for if his coin should pass, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a *national reproach*; because then we should have neither *shoe* nor *brogue* left in the kingdom. But here the fallhood of Mr Wood is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr Walpole never heard of a *brogue* in his whole life.

As to *swallowing these half-pence in fire-balls*, it is a story equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole stock of Mr Wood's coin and metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow *balls* with *wild-fire*, no bigger than a reasonable throat may be able to swallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty millions of *half-pence* to be *swallowed* by a million and an half of people; so that, allowing two half-pence to each *ball*, there will be about seventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece to be swallowed by every person in the kingdom; and, to administer this dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand *operators*, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, considering the *squeamishness* of some stomachs, and the *peevishness* of young children, is but reasonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the

trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be spurious, or, at least, only a new scheme of Mr Wood himself; which, to make it pass the better in Ireland, he would father upon a *minister of state*.

But I will now demonstrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr Walpole is against this project of Mr Wood, and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the universal opinion of being a wise man, an able minister, and in all his proceedings pursuing the *true interest* of the king his master: and that as his *integrity* is above all *corruption*, so is his *fortune* above all *temptation*. I reckon therefore, we are perfectly safe from that corner, and shall never be under the necessity of contending with so formidable a power, but be left to possess our *brogues* and *potatoes* in peace, as † *remote from thunder as we are from Jupiter*.

I am, my dear countrymen,

your loving fellow-subject,

fellow-sufferer, and

humble servant,

Octob. 13, 1724.

M. B.

† *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.*

Upon the arrival of Lord Carteret, soon after the publication of this letter, the passages from which this note is referred to were selected as sufficient ground for prosecution, and a proclamation was published by his Excellency and council offering a reward of three hundred pounds for discovering the author. Harding the printer was imprisoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared against him; which gave occasion to the following paper.

Seasonable

Seasonable ADVICE to the GRAND-JURY, concerning the bill preparing against the PRINTER of the preceding LETTER.

SINCE a *bill* is preparing for the *grand-jury* to find against the printer of the Drapier's *last-letter*, there are several things maturely to be considered by those gentlemen before they determine upon it.

First, they are to consider, that the author of the said pamphlet did write three other discourses on the same subject, which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raised and continued that spirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out Wood's coin; for all men will grant, that if those pamphlets had not been written, his coin must have over-run the nation some months ago.

Secondly, It is to be considered, that this pamphlet, against which a *proclamation* hath been issued, is written by the *same author*: that nobody ever doubted the innocence and goodness of his design; that he appears through the whole tenor of it, to be a *loyal subject* to his majesty, and devoted to the house of Hanover, and declares himself in a manner peculiarly zealous against the *pretender*. And if such a writer in four several treatises on so nice a subject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was necessary to speak of England and of *liberty*, should in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expression, it would be hard to condemn him after all the good he hath done, especially when we consider, that he could have no possible design in view either of honour or profit, but purely the good of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well considered, whether any one expression in the said pamphlet be really liable to a just exception, much less to be found *wicked, malicious, seditious, reflecting upon his majesty and his ministry, etc.*

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is said the prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, first, where the

author mentions the penner of the king's answer. *First*, it is well known his majesty is not master of the English tongue; and therefore it is necessary that some other person should be employed to pen what he hath to say, or write in that language. *Secondly*, his majesty's answer is not in the first person, but in the third, It is not said WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECESSORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROYAL PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, these are properly not the words of his majesty; but supposed to be taken from him, and transmitted hither by one of his ministers. *Thirdly*, it will be easily seen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his sentiments upon this particular with the utmost caution and respect, as any impartial reader will observe.

The second paragraph, which it is said will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author says of Ireland's being a dependent kingdom: he explains all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in Ireland, whereby it is enacted, that *whoever is king of England shall be king of Ireland*. Before this explanation be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that some lawyers should fully inform the jury what other law there is, either statute or common, for this *dependency*; and if there be no law, there is no transgression.

The *fourth* thing very maturely to be considered by the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom: the people in general find no fault in the Drapier's last book, any more than in the three former; and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a grand-jury of Dublin, they will conclude it is done in favour of Wood's coin; they will think we of this town have changed our minds, and intend to take those halfpence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: so that the question comes to this, which will be of the worst consequence? to let pass one or two expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a book written for the publick service; or to leave a free open passage for Wood's brags to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever.

The *fifth* thing to be considered is, that the members
of

of the grand-jury being merchants and principal shop-keepers can have no suitable temptation offered them, as a recompence for the mischief they will do, and suffer by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loss or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the state, to make up in their own private advantages by the destruction of their country; whereas those who go about to *advise, entice, or threaten* them to find that bill, have great employments which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewise the case of all those who signed the proclamation to have the author prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that his grace the lord archbishop of Dublin, so renowned for his piety, and wisdom, and love of his country, absolutely refused to condemn the book or the author.

Lastly, It ought to be considered, what consequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expressions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find any. But how can it be supposed that an ignorant printer can be such a *critick*? He knew the author's design was honest, and approved by the whole kingdom: he advised with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could see none himself; it was sent him in an unknown hand: but the same in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths, that they knew not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring punishment upon the innocent, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the author, unless he will please to discover himself: although I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I suppose, what he did at first out of modesty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable ascribed to Demosthenes: he had served the people of Athens with great fidelity in the station of an *orator*; when upon a certain occasion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the Athenians, his countrymen, the following story. Once upon a time the *wolves* desired a league with the *sheep* upon this condition; that the cause of strife might be taken away, which was the *shepherds* and *mas-*

So *Resolutions of the Commons of England.*

tiffs: this being granted, the *wolves* without all fear made havock of the *sheep*.

November 11, 1724.

Copies of this paper were distributed to every person of the grand-jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited; who, probably for the reasons contained in it, refused to find the bill, upon which the Lord Chief Justice Whithed, who had presided at a former prosecution of the dean's printer §, discharged them in a rage. The following extract was soon after published, to shew the illegality of this proceeding; and the next grand-jury that was empannelled made the subsequent presentment against all the abettors of Wood's project. See letter to Lord Molesworth, p. 84 of this volume.

§ See the first note prefixed to the proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures, in this volume.

An extract from a book, intituled, *An exact collection of the debates of the house of Commons, held at Westminster, Oct. 21. 1680, p. 150.*

RESOLUTIONS *of the house of Commons in England,*
Nov. 13. 1680.

SEVERAL persons being examined about the dismissing a grand-jury in Middlesex, the house came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, that the discharging of a grand-jury by any judge, before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

Resolved, that a committee be appointed to examine the
the

the proceedings of the judges in Westminster-hall; and report the same, with their opinion herein, to this house.

Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, for his conduct, deserved to have been impeached by the house of Commons; because the dissolving of a grand jury by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm. But as the house of commons forbore to execute their vengeance upon the Chief Justice, Swift seized upon him as a prey, lashed him, and worried him out of all his patience, by many sarcastic epigrams, squibs, and other severe reflections upon his unworthy demeanor, until at last he became odious and ridiculous to the whole kingdom. Neither could his death, which happened soon after, appease the vengeance of the incensed patriot. For Swift, resolving to make him an example to all future ages, pursued him into the regions of the dead, and coupled him with Anytus the accuser of Socrates. Such indeed was at last the sacrifice that poor unfortunate. Whitshed became unto the resentment of Dr Swift. — See Swift's poems concerning Whitshed, vol. 6. also, *A short view of Ireland*; and, *An answer to a memorial*, in this volume. See also *The life and character of Dr Swift*, vol. 7. p. 164. D. Swift.

The PRESENTMENT of the GRAND-JURY of the county of the city of Dublin.

WHEREAS several great quantities of base metal coined, commonly called Wood's half-pence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in several houses of this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely among his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; notwithstanding the addresses of both houses of parliament, and the privy-council, and the declarations of most of the corporations of this city against the said coin: and whereas his majesty has been graciously pleased to leave his loyal subjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuse the said half-pence;

We the *grand-jury* of the county of the city of Dublin, this Michaelmas term 1724, having entirely at heart his majesty's interest, and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his majesty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our posterity, do *present* all such persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour by fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said half-pence upon us, contrary to his majesty's most gracious intentions, as enemies to his majesty's government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; whose affections have been so eminently distinguished by their zeal to his illustrious family before his happy accession to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever since.

As we do, with all just gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such *patriots*, as have been eminently *zealous* for the interest of his majesty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said Wood, and preventing the passing of his base coin; so we do, at the same time, declare our abhorrence and detestation of all reflections on his majesty and his government; and that we
are

are ready with our lives and fortunes to defend his most sacred majesty against the *pretender*, and all his majesty's open and secret enemies both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the grand-jury chamber, this
28th of November, 1724.

George Forbes,
William Empson,
Nathaniel Pearson,
Joseph Nuttall,
William Aston,
Stearn Tighe,
Richard Walker,
Edmond French,
John Vereilles,
Philip Pearson,
Thomas Robins,
Richard Dawson,

David Tew,
Thomas How,
John Jones,
James Brown,
Charles Lyndon,
Jerom Bredin,
John Sican,
Anthony Brunton,
Thomas Gaven,
Daniel Elwood,
John Brunet.

The preceding paper was published about a month after the proclamation was issued, offering a reward of 300l. for the discovering the author of the Drapier's fourth letter.

A Letter to the Right Honourable
The Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the year 1724.

They compassed me about also with words of deceit, and fought against me without a cause.

For my love they are my adversaries; but I give myself unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love. Psal. cix. 3, 4, 5.

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling block in the way of thy uprightness.

Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.

Bind not one sin upon another, for in one thou shalt not be unpunished. Eccclus vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo:
Quamquam O! Sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti.

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr HARDING,

WHEN I sent you my former papers, I cannot say I intended you either *good* or *hurt*; and yet you have happened through my means to receive *both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *latter*, and increase the *former*. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is of all others the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for as you deal in the most worthless kind of trash, the
penny

penny productions of pennyless scriblers ; so you often venture your liberty, and sometimes your lives, for the purchase of half a crown ; and, by your own ignorance, are punished for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you in particular think you have reason to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in prison, to your great expence, as well as hardship ; and for a prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr Harding, how that matter stands. Since the press hath lain under so strict an inspection, those who have a mind to inform the world, are become so cautious as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the way of danger. My custom therefore is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand ; and what is written we send to your house by a black-guard boy. But, at the same time, I do assure you upon my reputation, that I never did send you any thing for which I thought you could possibly be called to an account. And you will be my witness, that I always desired you, by a letter, to take some good advice before you ventured to print ; because I knew the *dexterity of dealers in the law* at finding out something to fasten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able persons ; and even *some*, who afterwards *appeared against you* : to which I can only answer ; that you must either change your *advisers*, or determine to print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.

I desire you will send the inclosed letter directed to my lord viscount *Molesworth*, at his house at *Brackdenstown*, near Swords : but I would have it sent *printed* for the convenience of his lordship's reading ; because this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over by some *notable* lawyer : I am assured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will do it without a fee ; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expences. For although I have taken so much care, that I think it impossible to find a topic out of the following papers for sending you again to prison, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This ensuing letter contains only a short account of myself,

self, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, especially the *last*: with little mention of Mr Wood, or his *half-pence*; because I have already said enough upon that subject, until occasion shall be given for *new fears*; and, in that case, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am

your friend

From my shop in
St. Francis-street,
Dec. 14. 1724.

and servant

M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer*, your people are apt to make very gross errors in the press, which I desire you will provide against.

* The copies were always sent to the press by some obscure messenger, who never knew the person from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuensis only was trusted, to whom about two years after the author gave an employment of 40*l.* a year as a reward for his fidelity.

To

THE DRAPEL 87 LETTERS
To the Right Honourable

The Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH,

At his House at Brackdenstown near Swords.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late on the maxim of common observers, that those, who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reason to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myself the displeasure of the government, signified by a *proclamation* promising a reward of three hundred pounds to the first *faithful* subject, who shall be able and inclined to *inform* against me; to which I may add, the *laudable zeal and industry* of my lord chief-justice Whitshed in his endeavours to discover so dangerous a person. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cause to do so; and the common observation still stands good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the course of human affairs, that a man shall be made liable to *legal* animadversions, where he hath nothing to answer for either to God or his country: and condemned at Westminster-hall, for what he will never be charged with at the day of judgment.

After strictly examining my own heart, and consulting some divines of great reputation, I cannot accuse myself of any * *malice* or *wickedness against the public*; of any *designs to sow sedition*; of *reflecting on the king and his ministers*: or of *endeavouring to alienate the affections of the people of this kingdom from those of England*. All I can charge myself with, is a weak attempt to serve a nation in danger of destruction by a most wicked and ma-

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

licious projector, without waiting until I were called to its assistance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burthen upon my conscience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myself into a second danger by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a *judge*, who upon the criminal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *premunire* for *appealing to a foreign jurisdiction*: and of another in Wales, who severely checked the prisoner for offering the same plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by such a comparison; because *comparisons were odious*.

But, in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my condition, I desire your lordship's pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing; which is to give you some little account of myself.

I was bred at a free-school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the *latin tongue*. I served my apprenticeship in London, and there set up for myself with good success; until by the *death of some friends, and misfortunes of others*, I returned into this kingdom; and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the *woollen manufacture* through all its branches; wherein I met with great discouragement, and powerful opposers, whose objections appear to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the people of England would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even some of the *weaving trade* were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as *absurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your lordship at that time did me the honour to come into my shop, where I shewed you * a piece of *black and white stuff* just sent from the *dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my best customer for.

However, I was so mortified, that I resolve for the future to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in *common goods*, like the rest of my brethren; until it happened some months ago, considering with myself, that the *lower and poorer sort of people* wanted a *plain, strong coarse*

* By this is meant, the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*.

*stuff to defend them against cold easterly winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time together; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the kingdom, and preserved many thousands from agues. I then made a * second and a third kind of stuffs for the gentry, with the same success; insomuch, that an ague hath hardly been heard of for some time.*

This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a † fourth piece made of the best Irish wool I could get: and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best lord or judge of the land. But, of late some great folks complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a shuddering in their limbs, and have thrown it off in a rage; cursing to hell the poor drapier, who invented it; so that I am determined never to work for persons of quality again; except for your lordship and a very few more.

I assure your lordship upon the word of an honest citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr Wood's half-pence, with the sale of all the several stuffs I have contrived: for, I give the whole profit to the dyers and pressers ‡. And therefore I hope you will please to believe, that no other motive, besides the love of my country, could engage me to busy my head and hands to the loss of my time, and the gain of nothing but vexation and ill will.

I have now in hand one piece of stuff to be woven on purpose for your lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the § shreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former. However I shall work it up as well as I can; and at worst, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very sensible, how ill your lordship is like to be entertained with the pedantry of a drapier in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very sparingly, into an affair of state? for such is now grown the controversy

* The drapier's three first letters.

† The fourth letter, against which the proclamation was issued.

‡ Printers

§ Meaning the present letter.

with Mr Wood, if some *great lawyers* are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with *farthings*, and go on to *gold*, till some of them lose their estates and die in jail: so it may possibly fall out in my case, that by *playing* too long with Mr Wood's halfpence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine* double to the reward for *betraying* me; be sent to prison, and *not be delivered thence until I shall have paid the uttermost farthing*.

There are, my lord, three sorts of persons, with whom I am resolved never to dispute: a *highway-man* with a pistol at my breast; a *troop of dragoons*, who come to plunder my house; and a *man of the law*, who can make a merit of accusing me. In each of these cases, *which are almost the same*, the best method is to *keep out of the way*; and the next best is to *deliver your money, surrender your house, and confess nothing*.

I am told, that the two points in my last letter, from which an occasion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his majesty's answer to the address of the house of lords upon Mr Wood's patent; and where I discourse upon Ireland's being a *dependent kingdom*. As to the former, I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost respect and caution; and I thought it necessary to shew where Wood's patent differed in many essential parts from all others, that ever had been granted; because, the contrary had for want of due information been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of Ireland's *dependency*; I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to understand what it meant. This gave me the curiosity to enquire among several eminent lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the statutes of both kingdoms without the least information, further than an Irish act, that I quoted, of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to England under one king. I cannot say, I was sorry to be disappointed in my search, because it is certain, I could be contented to *depend* only upon God and my prince, and the *laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations*. But since my *bettors* are of a *different opinion*, and desire *further dependencies*, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own heart upon the *ex-ception*

ception I made of M. B. *drapier*. Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle story I had heard in England, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but because it *insinuates neither treason nor sedition*, I will just barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were so great that the commons were looked upon as little better than their *dependents*, a bill was brought in for making some new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr Drue, a member of the house stood up, and said, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it pass; but however, for some reasons best known to himself, he desired that a clause might be inserted for *excepting the family of the Drues*. The oddness of the proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were mistaken, or *went too far* in examining the *dependency*, must be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although indeed not in so *effectual* and *decisive* a manner. But to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile spirit, that this point did not *belong to my subject*, is a false and foolish objection. There were several scandalous reports industriously spread by Wood and his accomplices, to discourage all opposition against his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion*; that we disputed the king's *prerogative*, and were shaking off our *dependency*. The first went so far, and obtained so much belief against the most visible demonstrations to the contrary, that a *great person* of this kingdom, now in England, sent over such an account of it to his friends, as would make any good subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that calumny as it deserved. Then I proved by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to dispute his majesty's *prerogative*; because the *prerogative* was not concerned in the question; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money*. And lastly, to clear us from the imputation of shaking off our *dependency*, I shewed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this *dependency* consisted; and cited the statute above mentioned made in Ireland: by which
it

it is enacted, that *whoever is king of England, shall be king of Ireland*: and that the two kingdoms shall be *for ever knit together under one king*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency*; because it was altogether out of our power: for surely no king of England will ever consent to the repeal of this statute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accusation. It is said I *went too far*, when I declared, that 'if ever the *pretender* should come to be fixed upon the throne of England (which God forbid) I would so far venture to transgress this statute, that I would lose the last drop of my blood, before I would submit to him as king of Ireland.'

This I hear on all sides is the strongest and weightiest objection against me; and which hath given the most offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct statute; and that any motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a king, whom England should receive. Now, if in defending myself from this accusation, I should freely confess that I *went too far*; that the expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my zeal for his present majesty, and his protestant line in the house of Hanover; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgement and sorrow for my error will be some atonement, and a little soften the hearts of my powerful adversaries: I say, if I should offer such a defence as this, I do not doubt but some people would wrest it to an ill meaning by a spiteful interpretation. And therefore, since I cannot think of any other answer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but still without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordship a secret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know, that this habit of writing and discouraging, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almost* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wish, was acquired during my apprenticeship in London, and a long residence there after I had set up for myself. Upon my return and settlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another*.

mother. I had been long conversing with the writings of your Lordship *, Mr Locke, Mr Molineux, colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of 'liberty as a blessing, to which the whole race of mankind hath an original title; whereof nothing but unlawful force can divest them.' I knew a great deal of the several Gothic institutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be destroyed: and I ever thought it the most uncontrouled and universally agreed maxim, that 'freedom consists in a people's being governed by laws made with their own consent; and slavery in the contrary.' I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known use and signification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to understand, and have them often in their mouths. These were the errors, which have misled me; and to which alone I must impute the severe treatment I have received. But I shall in time *grow wiser*, and learn to consider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to say; that the boldest and most obnoxious words I ever delivered, would in England have only exposed me as a stupid fool, who went to prove that *the sun shone in a clear summer's day*: and I have witnesses ready to depose, that your lordship hath said and writ fifty times worse; and, what is still an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and stronger arguments: so that as politics run, I do not know a person of more exceptionable principles than yourself: and if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and support me in prison; or else I may chance to *inform* against you by way of *reprisal*.

In the mean time I beg your lordship to receive my confession; that if there be any such thing as a *dependency* of Ireland upon England, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of God, of *nature*, of *reason*, of *nations*, or of the *land*, (which I shall die rather than grant) then was the *proclamation* against me the most *merciful* that ever was put out; and instead of ac-

* He published a book in the reign of king William III. entitled, *The State of Denmark*, with a large preface. *Hawkes*.

cusing me as *malicious, wicked, and seditious*, it might have been directly as guilty of *high treason*.

All I desire is, that the cause of my country against Mr Wood may not suffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the *king*, and the *law*; I hope no man will assert, that it *depends* upon Mr Wood. I should be heartily sorry that this *commendable* spirit against me should accidentally (and what, *I hope*, was never intended) strike a damp upon that spirit in all ranks and corporations of men against the desperate and ruinous design of Mr Wood. Let my countrymen blot out those parts in my last letter, which they dislike; and let no *rust* remain on my *sword* to cure the wounds I have given to our most mortal enemy. When Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths; where several things were to be *renounced*, he said, he loved *renouncing*; asked if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleased. Although I am not so thorough a *renouncer*, yet let me have but *good city security* against this pestilent coinage, and I shall be ready not only to *renounce* every syllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them cheerfully with my own *hands* into *those* of the common *hangman*, to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath escaped out of the *secular hands* of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the sentiments of *some people* may be, I think it is agreed that many of those, who *subscribed* against me, are on the side of a vast majority in the kingdom, who opposed Mr Wood*: and it was with great

* As the Drapier's letters were written expressly against Wood's half-pence, it might well be imagined that a proclamation against the author would produce an opinion, that to oppose Wood's half-pence was illegal, and subjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent so fatal a mistake it is here remarked, that many of those, who subscribed the proclamation, were yet strenuous opposers of Wood's project. This distinction is yet more explicit in the letter to lord Middleton, which was written soon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though for some reasons deferred.—See the letter to Lord Middleton and the note prefixed. *Hawkes*.

satisfaction, that I observed some *right honourable names* very amicably joined with my own at the bottom of a *strong declaration* against him and his coin. But if the admission of it among us be *already determined*, the *worthy person*, who is to *betray me*, ought in prudence to do it with all convenient speed; or else it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds *sterling* for the discharge of his *hire*, when the public shall have lost five hundred thousand, if there be so much in the nation; besides four fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man it is of much weight, which of them gave the first provocation, or struck the first blow. It is manifest that Mr Wood hath done both: and therefore I should humbly propose to have him first *hanged*, and his *drofs* thrown into the sea: after which the *drapier* will be ready to stand his trial. *It must needs be that offences come, but two unto him by whom the offence cometh.* If Mr Wood had held his *band*, every body else would have held their *tongues*: and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets*, *juries*, or *proclamations* upon this occasion. The provocation must needs have been very great, which could stir up an obscure, indolent *drapier* to become an *author*. One would almost think, the very *stones* in the street would *rise up* in such a cause: and I am not sure they will not *do so* against Mr Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known story of the dumb boy, whose tongue forced a passage for speech by the horror of seeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may lessen the wonder, that a tradesman hid in privacy and silence should *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by so infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr Wood the *destroyer* of a kingdom walks about in triumph; (unless it be true, that he is in jail for debt) while he who endeavoured to *assert the liberty of his country* is forced to *hide his head* for occasionally dealing in a matter of *controversy*. However, I am not the first, who hath been condemned to death for *gaining a great victory* over a powerful enemy, by disobeying for *once* the strict orders of military discipline.

I am

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual proceeding of mankind, because it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean* †. He shewed the mistake I was in, of trusting to the general good will of the people; that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate *circumstantial lapse* would probably bring me within the reach of *power*: that my good intentions would be no security against *those, who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterness of my soul*. He produced an instance of a person as innocent, as disinterested, and as well meaning as myself; who had written ‡ a very seasonable and inoffensive treatise, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which however the printer was persecuted with the utmost virulence; the *jury sent back nine times*; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* further observed, that I was in a manner left alone to stand the *battle*; while others who had ten thousand times better talents than a *drapier*, were so prudent as to lie still; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant amusement to look on with safety, while another was giving them *diversion* at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a sufficient recompence by a little applause: whereupon he concluded with a short story of a Jew at Madrid; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of school-boys following him to the stake, and apprehending they might lose their *sport* if he should happen to recant, would often *clap him on the back*, and cry, *Sta firme Moyse* (Moses continue stedfast.)

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his observations just; and in one respect my condition is worse than that of the Jew: for *no recantation will save me*. However, it should seem by *some late proceedings*, that my state is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the steadiness of *two impartial grand-juries*; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained; that, as philosophers say, *virtue*

† The author is supposed to mean himself.

‡ The author means himself again; in the discourse advising the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures.

is seated in the middle; so in another sense, the little *virtue* left in the world is chiefly to be found among the *middle* rank of mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven* by *poverty*.

Since the *proclamation* occasioned by my last letter, and a *due* preparation for proceeding against me in a court of justice, there have been two printed papers clandestinely spread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by *conjecture*; which, with its usual charity, lays them to my account. The former is entitled, *seasonable advice*, and appears to have been intended for information of the grand-jury, upon the supposition of a bill to be prepared against that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry resolution of the house of commons in England against *dissolving grand-juries*. As to the former, your lordship will find it to be the work of a more artful hand, than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiassed; and for that reason *it is manifest*, that no *judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himself* or his *dependents*, to use the *least insinuation*, that might possibly affect the passions or interests of any one single *jurymen*, much less of a whole *jury*; whereof every man *must* be *convinced*, who will just give himself the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: so that it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *sixty years past*; which, considering how long they held their offices *during pleasure*, as they *still do among us* †, I account next to a *miracle*.

As to the other paper, I must confess it is a sharp censure from an English house of commons against *dissolving grand-juries* by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration and not presented, as arbitrary, illegal, destructive

† Perhaps this may account for Whitshed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures*, and superadded to the *seasonable advice to the grand-jury*, both in this volume.

98 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and as a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For whatever *dependence* there may be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not insinuate, that the proceedings of a *lord chief-justice* in Ireland, must *depend* upon a *resolution* of an English house of commons. Besides that *resolution*, although it were levelled against a particular lord chief-justice, Sir William Scroggs, yet the occasion was directly contrary. For Scroggs *dissolved the grand-jury* of London for fear they *should* present; but ours in Dublin was *dissolved*, because they would *not* present; which *wonderfully alters the case*. And therefore a *second grand-jury* supplied that defect by making a presentment † that *pleased the whole kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other *jury* behaved themselves in such a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there shall be any regard left among us for *virtue or public spirit*.

I am confident, your lordship will be of my sentiments in one thing; that some short, plain, authentic tract, might be published for the information both of *petty* and *grand-juries*, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of such a treatise might be deposited in every court to be consulted by the jury-men, before they consider of their verdict; by which abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable instances might be produced from former times; because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an *eastern* king, who put a *judge* to death for an iniquitous sentence; and ordered his *hide to be stuffed into a cushion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the son to sit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, such a *memorial* might not have been useless to a son of Sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his successors would often *wriggle* in their seats, as long as the *cushion* lasted: I wish the relator

† See the *presentment* immediately preceding this letter.

had told us what number of such *cushions* there might be in that country.

I cannot but observe to your lordship, how nice and dangerous a point it is grown, for a private person to inform the people, even in an affair, where the public interest and safety are so highly concerned, as that of Mr Wood; and this in a country, where *loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people*, seems a little extraordinary. Sir William Scroggs was the first, who introduced that *commendable acuteness into the courts of judicature*; but how far this practice hath been imitated by his successors or *strained upon occasion*, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets *unpleasing to the ministry* were presented as libels, he would order the offensive paragraphs to be read before him; and said it was strange, that the judges and lawyers of the *king's-bench* should be duller than all the people of England; and he was often so very happy in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding *dubious hints*, (the two common expedients among writers of that class for escaping the law) that he discovered much *more* than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their cost. If such methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the subject of Mr Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my understanding and caution to avoid being *entrapped*; unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever drying upon his lines; or venture to publish them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your lordship where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to refuse this coin of Mr Wood; but at the same time it is equally true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely possible*, that the ministers in England may not suppose the consequence of uttering that brass among us to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because perhaps, if they understood it in that light, they would in common humanity use their credit with his ma-

jesty for saving a *most loyal kingdom from destruction*. But as long as it shall please those great persons to think that coin will not be *so very* pernicious to us, we lie under the disadvantage of being censured as obstinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make use of that *liberty*, which the *king* and the *laws* have left us; by continuing to refuse this coin; and by frequent remembrances to keep up that spirit raised against it, which otherwise may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to sink altogether. For, any public order against receiving or uttering Mr Wood's half-pence is not reasonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from England; which I think no body presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

But to confess the truth, my lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *songs* and *ballads*, who perhaps are the best qualified at present to gather up the gleanings of this controversy. As to myself, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and pursue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falshoods of this vile impostor Wood in every part, I foolishly *disdained* to have recourse to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*; but rather chose to *appeal to law and liberty*, and *the common rights of mankind*, without considering the *climate* I was in.

Since your last residence in Ireland, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied myself to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradesman did not qualify me to wait on you at your house; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have escaped *severer censures*. But I have lately sold my nag, and honestly told his greatest fault, which was that of snuffing up the air about Brackdenstown; whereby he became such a lover of *liberty*, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried at the bottom of a strong chest your lordship's writings under a heap of others, that treat of *liberty*: and spread over a *layer* or two of Hobbs, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that stamp, to be readiest at hand, whenever I shall be disposed to take up a *new set* of principles in government. In the mean time I design quietly

quietly to look to my shop, and keep as far out of your lordship's influence as possible: and if you ever see any more of my writings on this subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a sting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your lordship will please to give me an easy lease of some part of your estate in Yorkshire, thither will I carry my chest: and turning it upside down, resume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honest English farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr Wood: my most loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe so much for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to serve them. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

your lordship's

most obedient

and most humble servant,

From my shop in
St. Francis-street,
Dec. 14, 1724.

M. B.

These papers (for the sixth and seventh letters were not published till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithstanding threats, prosecutions, and imprisonment, against all the influence of power and all the artifices of cunning: persons of every rank and every sect united with the drapier in the common cause, his health was a perpetual toast, and his effigies were displayed in every street; Wood was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were totally suppressed.

A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MID- DLETON *.

Written in the year 1724.

[BY many passages in the following letter, and by the date Oct. 6. 1724. it appears to have been written soon after the proclamation against the *drapier* for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this crisis perhaps the dean did not chuse to resume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was signed with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for some reason the publication of it was delayed, and it was first printed in an edition of the dean's works published at Dublin in 1735. This however is not the only reason why it is placed after the fifth letter; for the fifth letter appears to have been substituted in its stead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth is called the *last*, which could not have happened if both had been parts of the same series.

The reader will now easily account for those passages in the sixth, by which the prosecution against Harding appears to be depending, though in the fifth it is mentioned as past.]

My LORD,

I Desire you will consider me as a member who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who speaks to a cause, when the matter hath been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some months ago I was at your house upon a commission, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not so much on account of the commission, as to ask you some questions concerning Mr Wood's patent to coin half-pence for Ireland; where you very free-

* He signed the proclamation against the Drapier. *Hawkes.*

ly told me in a mixt company, how much you had been always against that wicked project §; which raised in me an esteem for you so far, that I went in a few days to make you a visit after many years intermission. I am likewise told, that your son wrote two letters from London (one of which I have seen) empowering those, to whom they were directed, to assure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report spread of his engaging himself to Mr Walpole for forty thousand pounds of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the said report was false and groundless; and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And although it be long since I have given myself the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations; yet I have been told by those, who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous consequences of Wood's patent have been so strongly represented by both houses of parliament; by the privy-council; the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin; by so many corporations; and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in most counties at their quarter-sessions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the currency of these half-pence would in the universal opinion of our people be utterly destructive to this kingdom; and consequently that it is every man's duty not only to refuse this coin himself, but, as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like: and whether this be done in private or in print, is all a case; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to discourse upon religious or moral subjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at least in our church.) Neither is this an affair of state, until authority shall think fit to declare it so: or if you should understand it in that sense, yet you will please to consider, that I am not now preaching.

§ Lord Middleton, though he signed the proclamation against the *drapier*, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by several passages in this letter. *Hawkef.*

Therefore I do think it my duty, since the *drapier* will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learnt from old experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preserving both those characters, I may be allowed by offering new arguments, or enforcing old ones to refresh the memory of my fellow-subjects, and keep up that good spirit raised among them to preserve themselves from utter ruin by lawful means, and such as are permitted by his majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two propositions: first, that we are a most loyal people; and secondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word, applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many years ago in discourse differ much in the presence of lord Wharton about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to Ireland. But if you will not allow us to be a free people; there is only another appellation left, which I doubt, my lord chief justice Whitshed would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow: for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be *libertas et natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both. *

Now, as for our loyalty to his present majesty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident he hath not a minister in England, who could ever call it once in question; but that some hard rumours at least have been transmitted from t'other side the water, I suppose you will not doubt: and rumours of the severest kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr Wood and his emissaries: as if he endeavoured it should be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be loyal people; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a

* See the address to both houses of parliament, by M. B. *drapier*.
king,

king, that loyal and free people can expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that Wood's half-pence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no longer express our wishes; although there were no such mortal as a *drapier* in the world.

I am heartily sorry, that any writer should in a cause so generally approved, give occasion to the government and council to charge him with § “ paragraphs highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers; tending to “ alienate the affections of his good subjects in England “ and Ireland from each other; and to promote sedition “ among the people.” I must confess, that with many others I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the *drapier* is but one man, I shall think I do a public service by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* pamphlets to reflect on the king or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the king on the subject of Mr Wood's coin: for in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in England, the only two persons hinted at were the duke of Grafton and Mr Walpole: the former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared, that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr Wood, before it was passed, although he was then lord lieutenant: and therefore I suppose every body believes, that his grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr Walpole was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter W. in several news papers; where 'it is said that some expressions fell from him not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the *drapier* wholly clears Mr Walpole of this charge by very strong

§ In the *drapier's* 4th letter.

arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion that Mr Walpole favoured Mr Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own part never once opened my lips against that minister either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reason for this reservedness was; because it pleased him in the *queen's* time, (I mean queen Anne of ever blessed memory) to make a speech directly against me by name in the house of commons, as I was told a very few minutes after in the court of *requests* by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here, (if any thing here may be called great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by public voice to be chief minister, will among the general talkers share the blame, whether justly or no, of every thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many instances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the case of the * greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt minister I ever conversed with.

But, whatever displeasing opinion some people might conceive of Mr Walpole on account of those half-pence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr Wood. Many persons of credit come from England have affirmed to me and others, that they have seen letters under his hand full of arrogance and insolence towards Ireland, and boasting of his favour with Mr Walpole; which is highly probable; because he reasonably thought it for his interest to spread such a report, and because it is the known talent of low and little spirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have sufficiently justified the people of Ireland, from learning any bad lesson out of the *drapier's* pamphlets with regard to his majesty and his ministers: and therefore, if those papers were intended to sow sedition among us, God be thanked the seeds have fallen upon a very improper soil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other; I believe the *drapier*,

* Supposed to be the Lord Treasurer Oxford.

whatever

whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most men in the dispositions of each people towards the other. By the people I understand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I desire no lawyer may distort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which added to the easiness of their rents makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; farther than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of baggs, inhabited by wild Irish *papists*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions pass upon them; that the *wild* Irish were taken in toyls; but that in some time they would grow so tame, as to eat out of our hands: I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at Pepper-hara, whether I had come from Ireland by sea: and upon the arrival of an Irish *man* to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A gentleman now in Dublin affirms, that passing some months ago through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations; upon asking the cause, he was told, it was for joy, that the Irish had submitted to receive Wood's half-pence. This, I think, plainly shews what sentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own case: although they lie directly in our way to London, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of Irish *papists*, who are as inconsiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of English *protestants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although

though they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used: however, I confess, I do not see that it is of any great consequence, how their personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether those from England have reason to complain, when they come hither in pursuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reason to boast, when they go to England upon the same design?

My second proposition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I suppose, you will allow, at least with certain limitations remaining in your own breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the subject, are often mentioned in both houses of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below; from whence it must follow that the people of Ireland do, or *ought* to enjoy all the benefits of the common and statute law; such as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and silver; I do not see why any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of William Wood; who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property, which the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier's* case in another light by supposing, that a person going into his shop should agree for thirty shillings worth of goods, and force the seller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces intrinsically not worth above a crown: I desire to know whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty shillings; and how far he could be said to be master of his property? The same question may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatsoever.

Give me leave to do what the *drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it stands in view of the world.

One William Wood, Esq; and hard-ware-man, obtains
by

by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000*l.* in copper to pass in Ireland, leaving us liberty to take or to refuse. The people here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin : to justify these declarations they generally offer two reasons ; first, because by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice ; and secondly, because they are not obliged by law : so that you see there is *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr Wood gets the victory at the expence of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thousand pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself ; I doubt, both present and future ages will at least think it a very singular scheme.

If this fact be truly stated, I must confess, I look upon it as my duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-subjects as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin ; no not so much as one single half-penny. For if one single thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself leave to suppose that what I say can either offend my * *lord lieutenant*, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his excellency will be my witness) or the ministers in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me ; much less the *privy-council* here ; who, as I am informed, did send an address to his majesty against Mr Wood's coin ; which if it be a mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a spreader of false news : but I confess, I am so great a stranger to affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may since have been changed : and although I observed some of the very same names in a late declaration against that coin, which I saw subscribed to the proclamation against the *drapier*, yet possibly they

* Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

may be different persons : for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

In this controversy, where the reasoners on each side are divided by St. George's channel, his majesty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr Wood and his advocates had not made it necessary by giving out, that the currency of his coin should be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this coin ; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it most dreadful apprehensions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for the *drapier* to remove this difficulty ; and accordingly in one of his former pamphlets he produced invincible arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the king's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter ; since the law had sufficiently provided against any coin to be imposed on the subject, except gold and silver ; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the *drapier* having not received any public censure, I look upon them to be without exception ; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that spirit raised against this destructive coin of Mr Wood : as for this last letter, against which a proclamation is issued ; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable ; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal : but being naturally somewhat slow of comprehension, no lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those, who profess good designs, without any visible motive either of profit or honour ; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greatest offence in this last letter * is, where the *drapier* affirms, that if a rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of England, he would venture so far to transgress the Irish statute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to lose every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.

* Letter 4. See the note prefixed to this letter.

I shall not presume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would transgress a statute; and a statute of such importance; but with the most humble submission and desire of pardon for a very innocent mistake, I should be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at least some small extenuation of his crime: for, in this I confess myself to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections against that pamphlet; but I suppose, they will all appear at the prosecution of the *drapier*. And I think, whoever in his own conscience believes the said pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers*, etc. would do well to discover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers) although the reward of 300*l*. had not been tacked to the discovery. I own, it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers upon this case. Because you cannot but know, there often happen occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore it hath been the wisdom of the English parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either house of parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the controverfy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here, in the case of Mr Wood and his coin; since the two houses gave their opinion by addresses, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all question both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular persons, to whom God hath given zeal and understanding sufficient for such an undertaking. Thus it happened in the case of that destructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of some without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now,

Now, I should be heartily glad, if some able lawyers would prescribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters; because a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet stander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath some share in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in some degree every such man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer so much as to mention the prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatsoever: I know it is often debated in Westminster-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that subject in their books.

Secondly, how far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the subject, which is not sterling; such as lead, brass, copper, mixt metal, shells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown shall think fit?

Thirdly, what is really and truly meant by that phrase of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that *dependency* consisteth?

Lastly, In what points relating to *liberty* and *property* the people of Ireland differ, or at least *ought* to differ, from those of England.

If these particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite ease and use to the kingdom; and either prevent or silence all discontents.

My lord Sommers, the greatest man I ever knew of your robe, and whose thoughts of Ireland differed, as far as heaven and earth, from those of some others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown or the privileges of parliament should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch of either; by which means, he said, the public often suffered great inconveniences, whereof he gave me several instances. I produce the authority of so eminent a person to justify my desires, that some high points might be cleared.

For want of such known ascertainment how far a writer

er may proceed in expressing his good wishes for his country, a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly by the oratory and comments of lawyers be charged with many crimes, which from his very soul he abhors; and consequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in some stinking jail, merely for mistaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my life-time a printer prosecuted and convicted for publishing a * pamphlet, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inspection upon the subject of Mr Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would insure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.

I have heard the late chief justice Holt affirm, that, in all criminal cases, the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes; though often very ill practised by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the *defendant* brought off his client by alledging, that the words were not injurious; for knave in the old and true signification imported only a servant; and villain in *latin*, is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a bail.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer with a very small measure of discretion might easily be safe; but I doubt in practice it hath been frequently controlled, at least before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a passage of signor Leti an Italian; who being in London, busying himself with writ-

* *Supposed to be.* A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures, written by the author.

ing the history of England, told king Charles the second that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impossible, although he should have been as wise as Solomon. The king answered, that if this were the case, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public necessity of writing; neither would England have been one half-penny the better or the worse, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected; what have private men to do with the public? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of state? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his shop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations, and prosecutions. Have we not able magistrates and counsellors hourly watching over the public-weal? All this may be true: and yet when the addresses from both houses of parliament against Mr Wood's half-pence failed of success, if some pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refusing that coin, to detect the fraud, the artifice, and insolence of the coiner, and to lay open the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin, I might appeal to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow mis-informations: for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion: but as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary from my duty to God, my king, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately issued against the *drapier* doth not in the least affect the case of Mr Wood and his coin; but only refers to certain paragraphs

graphs in the *drapier's* last pamphlet †, (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause) which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe, that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the *drapier*, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr Wood, or his coin.

Therefore concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue upon any proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation (whether the real author were a real *drapier* or no is little to the purpose) against this horrid design of Mr Wood; at the same time carefully watching every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public censure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief justice Whitshed as a criminal. Whenever an order shall come out by authority, forbidding all men upon the highest penalties to offer any thing in writing or discourse against Mr Wood's half-pence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last man in the kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: for although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience against my conscience, and the public safety.

I desire to put a case, which I think the *drapier* in some of his books hath put before me; although not so fully as it requires.

You know the copper half-pence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now suppose, that, instead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to some private, obscure person, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr Wood is preparing in this; and all of it at least five times below the intrinsic value: the current money of England is reckon-

† The 4th letter.

ed to be twenty millions ; and ours under † five hundred thousand pounds : by this computation, as Mr Wood hath power to give us 108,000 pounds ; so the patentee in England, by the same proportion might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds ; besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits. I desire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addressed upon such an occasion ; what success they probably would have had : and how many *drapiers* would have risen to pester the world with pamphlets : yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours in the like case ; because their cash would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the chests of cautious, thrifty men until better times. Then I desire for the satisfaction of the public, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so very different a manner in a point of such high importance ; whether it be on account of Poining's act ; of subordination ; dependence ; or any other term of art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill success of Mr Wood will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom ; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in England ; and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchase ; because I should be glad to possess a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own consent : and where I should never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixt copper at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live in ease and plenty at Pepper-hara in Surry ; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public spirited in you to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute, by shewing without reserve your disapprobation of Mr Wood's design ; at least if you have been so frank to others as you were to me ; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points ; and therefore I could get but few believers, when

† It is since sunk to 200,000*l*.

I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *drapier's* observation. If these half-pence should once gain admittance, it is agreed, that in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This in my opinion would lay a heavy charge upon the crown by creating a necessity of transmitting money from England to pay the salaries at least of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for instance) could support his dignity with a thousand pounds a year in Wood's coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near two hundred. To argue that these half-pence, if no other coin were current, would answer the general ends of commerce among ourselves, is a great mistake, and the *drapier* hath made that matter too clear to admit an answer, by shewing us what every owner of land must be forced to do with the products of it in such a distress. You may read his remarks at large in his second or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several months past there have more papers been written in this town, such as they are, all upon the best public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in so short a time; I speak in general from the *drapier* down to the maker of ballads; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am assured by persons of credit, that the best ballad upon Mr Wood will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding † declares he never made the *drapier* any present, except one pair of scissars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by opposing Mr Wood is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth

† The printer of the *drapier's* letters.

and

and learning would employ his pen upon so transitory a subject, and in so obscure a corner of the world, to distinguish himself as an author. So that I look upon myself, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our several degrees.

All that the public can expect for the future is, only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr Wood's half-pence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier's* reasons. For a man of the most superior understanding will find it impossible to make the best use of it, while he writes in constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himself, under a prosecution from my lord chief justice Whithed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in don Quixote, who, being soundly beaten by a weaver for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us for opposing this fatal project of Mr Wood, my pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain) who after many alterations returned them back with assuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflection, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the *bell-man* of each parish as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, *past twelve a clock; beware of Wood's half-pence*; it would probably cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets, provided that in country towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings, or discourses upon this subject, except such as are in favour of Mr Wood, I will obey as it becomes me; only when I am in danger of bursting, I will

go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wisdom of my countrymen; but only these few words, *BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.*

I am,

with due respect,

your most obedient,

Deanry-house,
Oct. 26, 1724.

humble servant,

J. S.

An

An humble ADDRESS to both Houses of
PARLIAMENT §.

By M. B. Drapier.

*Multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
Victoris.—*

I Have been told, that *petitions* and *addresses*, to either king or parliament, are the right of every subject; provided they consist with that respect, which is due to princes and great assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest *proposals* or *opinions* of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the style of *advice*; which is a presumption far from my thoughts. However, if *proposals* should be looked upon as too assuming; yet, I hope, every man may be suffered to declare his own and the nation's *wishes*. For instance; I may be allowed to *wish*, that some further laws were enacted for the advancement of *trade*, for the improvement of *agriculture*, now strangely neglected against the maxims of all wise nations: for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees: for setting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the

§ This address is without a date, but it appears to have been written during the first session of parliament in lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inserted with the preceding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the Irish edition, two dates are assigned to the following tract; in the advertisement prefixed it is said to have been written the first session of Carteret's government, and in the title page to be written before his arrival.
Hawkes.

hearty

heartly *wish* of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this session would *begin* by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one William Wood now or late of London; hard-ware-man; who *illegally* and *clandestinely*, as appears by your own votes and addresses, procured a patent in England for coining half-pence in that kingdom to be current here. This, I say, is the *wish* of the whole nation, *very few excepted*; and upon account of those *few* is more strongly and justly the *wish* of the rest: those *few* consisting either of Wood's confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak judgment and strong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation by securing or advancing themselves. And because such men proceed upon a system of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of fifteen hundred pounds a year, salary and perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a year real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be on foot; such for instance as this of Wood; which, if it succeed, in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half, (although I am confident, it would have done so five sixths.) Suppose, I conceive that the *countenancing*, or privately *supporting* this project, *will please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted*: nothing then remains, but to compute and ballance my gain and my loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This at 1500*l.* a year amounts in ten years to 15000*l.* My estate by the success of the said project sinks 400*l.* a year; which at twenty years purchase, is but 8000*l.* so that I am a clear gainer of 7000*l.* upon the ballance. And during all that period I am possessed of *power* and *credit*, can gratify my *favourites*, and take vengeance on my *enemies*. And if the project miscarry, my private *merit* is still entire. This *arithmetic*, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practised, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the *ruin* or *safety* of a nation: although probably the charity and vir-

tue of a *senate* will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such monsters among mankind. And yet the wise lord Bacon mentions a sort of people, (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would *set a house on fire* for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to observe the course of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the *revolution*, must acknowledge, that the highest points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons upon the very principles and *arithmetic*, that I have supposed: the only wonder is, how these *artists* were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public assemblies to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience *latitude* enough for *vice*, if a man in *station* be allowed to act injustice upon the *usual* principles of *getting a bribe*, *wreaking his malice*, *serv'ing his party*, or *consulting his preferment*, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of *particular* persons. But to deliver up our *whole* country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to *certain* destruction, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable *casuists* on the side of *corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *misfortune* to be born in this kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding *any* employment whatsoever above the degree of a *constable*, (according to the scheme and intention of a * *great minister gone to his own place*) than to live under the daily apprehensions of a few *false brethren* among ourselves. Because, in the former case we should be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed; since none could *then* have impudence enough to *pretend* any public good.

It is true, that in this desperate affair of the new *half-pence* I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a shop-keeper to have been hitherto so bold, as in *direct terms* to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of some very *mollifying expressions* which were

The late Earl of Sunderland.

used,

used, and very *gentle expedients* proposed and handed about, when it first came under debate: but since the eyes of the people have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own ruin in the success of Wood's attempt, these *grand compounders* have been more cautious.

But that the same spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other instances of great compliance) from *certain circumstances*, that have attended some *late proceedings* * in a *court of judicature*. There is not any common-place more frequently insisted on by those who treat of our constitution, than the great happiness and excellency of trials by *juries*: yet if this blessed part of our law be eludable at pleasure by the force of *power, frowns and artifice*, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular over other states or kingdoms in Europe. And surely these high proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the *life-blood* of the people, their *necessary subsistence*, their very *food and raiment*, and even the *public peace*, will not allow any favourable *appearance*; because it was obvious, that so much *superabundant zeal* could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to *damp* that *spirit* raised in the nation against this accursed scheme of William Wood and his *abettors*; to which *spirit* alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being *hitherto* preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by *your* wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanor upon a more *charitable* foundation, than that of putting our interest in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his acquaintance to shew the bad consequences, that

* By chief justice Whitshed, whose method with a jury may be seen in the note which follows the *proposal for the use of Irish manufactures*, and that at the end of *seasonable advice to a grand-jury*. *Hazekes*.

might follow from any public resentment to the disadvantage of his *ally*, Mr Wood; principally alledging the danger of all employments being disposed of from England. One of these *emissaries* came to me, and urged the same *topic*: I answered naturally, that I knew there was no office of *any* kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of *leasers* and *gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who intreated his *ass* to fly for fear of being taken by the *enemy*; but the *ass* refused to give himself that trouble, and upon a very wise reason; because he could not possibly change his present master for a *worse*: the *enemy* could not make him *fare harder*, *beat him more cruelly*, or load him with *heavier burdens*.

Upon these and many other considerations, I may affirm it to be the *wish* of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of *juries* were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be *stigmatized* by public *censure*; not from any hope that such a *censure* will amend their *practices*, or hurt their *interests*, (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*) but that the nation may know their *enemies* from their *friends*.

I say not this with any regard or view to myself; for I write in great security; and am resolved that none shall *merit* at my expence, further than by shewing their *zeal* to *discover*, *prosecute* and *condemn me*, for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country: and yet I am conscious to myself, that I never had the least intention to *reflect on his majesty's ministers*, nor on any other person, except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of *that number*. However, some would have it, that *I went too far*; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have *gone further*, and I think I could not easily have *fared worse*. And therefore I was no further affected with *their proclamation*, and subsequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the *sins* of the people. And as to the poor *printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a *righteous tribunal*.

As

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies the general wishes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal *wish*, that your *first* proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of William Wood; so I must add as the universal opinion, that all *schemes* of *commutation*, *composition*, and the like *expedients*, either *avowed* or *implied*, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the public; against the dignity of a *free* kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future *adventurers* in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at present disputes, that even a *connivance* to admit one thousand pounds in these *half-pence* will produce in time the same ruinous effects, as if we openly consent to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more safe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present, (which however God forbid) and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue and increase that aversion, than submit to apply those *palliatives* which *weak*, *perfidious*, or *abject politicians* are upon all *occasions*, and in all *diseases* so ready to *administer*.

In the small compass of my reading (which however hath been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling) I have observed, that *grievances* have always preceded *supplies*, and if ever *grievances* had a title to such a pre-eminence, it must be this of Wood; because it is not only the greatest *grievance* that any country could suffer, but a *grievance* of such a kind that, if it should take effect, would make it impossible for us to give any *supplies* at all, except in *adulterate copper*; unless a tax were laid for paying the civil and military lists, and the *large* pensions, with real commodities instead of money; which however might be liable to some few objections as well as difficulties: for although the *common soldiers* might be content with *beef* and *mutton*, and *wool*, and *malt* and *leather*; yet I am in some doubt as to the *generals*, the *colonels*, the *numerous pensioners*, the *civil officers* and others, who all live in England upon Irish *pay*, as well as those *few* who reside among us only because they cannot help it,

There is one particular, which although I have men-

tioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the history of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost *astonishment*.

After the unanimous addresses to his sacred majesty against this patent of Wood from both houses of parliament, which are the *three estates* of the kingdom; and likewise an address from the privy council, to whom under the chief governors the whole administration is intrusted; the matter is referred to a committee of council in London. Wood and his adherents are heard on one side; and a few *volunteers* without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of *half-pence* in Ireland; witnesses are called on the behalf of Wood (of what credit I have formerly shewn *) upon the issue the patent is found good and legal; all his majesty's officers here (not excepting the *military*) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addresses of both houses of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever; and the whole kingdom of Ireland *non-suited* in default of appearance; as if it were a private cause between John Dow, plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in London, I have not understood them to be our *governors, counsellors* or *judges*. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question, whether Ireland wanted *half-pence*. For there is no doubt, but we do want both half-pence, gold, and silver; and we have *numberless* other *wants*, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation, to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with *religion* and *laws*, or any degree of *soil* and *sunshine*: but for what *demerits* on our side I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of half-pence

* In letter iii.

was either affirmed, or denied in any of our addressees or declarations against those of Wood. We alledged the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his patent, the baseness of his metal, and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very *limited* and *discouraged* trade. We urged, that the patent was passed without the least reference hither; and without mention of any *security* given by Wood to receive his own half-pence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like cases. These, and many other arguments we offered; but still the patent went on, and at this day our ruin would have been half compleated, if God in his mercy had not raised an universal detestation of these half-pence in the whole kingdom, with a firm resolution never to receive them, since we are not under obligations to do so by any *law* either *human* or *divine*.

But, in the name of God and of all *justice* and *piety*, when the king's majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood, that he *conceived*, *believed* and *intended* it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his subjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom; of the most *loyal* kingdom upon earth, where no *hand* or *voice* was ever lifted up against him; a kingdom, where the passage is not of three hours from Britain, and a kingdom where *papists* have less *power*, and less *land* than in England? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his majesty's ministers understood and proposed the same end, *the good of this nation*, when they advised the passing this patent? Can the *person* of Wood be otherwise regarded, than as the *instrument*, the *mechanic*, the *head-workman*, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his stamps? If I employ a *shoe-boy*, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the *person* of William Wood alone; because *no other* appears, and we are not to reason upon *furnaces*; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, (for we cannot do less) that this

patent for the coining of half-pence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a *wise public-spirited* ministry, for the advantage of Ireland; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whose good the patent was designed, do upon *most* consideration universally join in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these half-pence, as the most ruinous project that ever was set on foot to compleat the slavery and destruction of a poor innocent country: *is it, was it, can it, or will it* ever be a question, not whether such a kingdom, or William Wood, should be a gainer; but whether such a kingdom should be *wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated*, made a scene of *miser*y and *desolation*, for the sake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our universal *wish*, that God would put it in into *your* hearts to be his instruments for so good a work.

For my own part, who am but *one* man, of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare in the presence of almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death rather than submit to receive this *accursed coin*, or *any other* that shall be liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of *my own country*; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some *foreign* land, and eat the *bread of poverty* among a *free* people.

Am I legally punishable for these expressions; shall *another proclamation* issue against me, because I presume to take my country's part against William Wood, where *her* final destruction is intended? But whenever you shall please to impose *silence* upon me, I will submit; because I look upon your *unanimous voice* to be the *voice* of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in some manner the *voice* of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying so long at *mercy* under so *vile* an adversary, is such a deplorable aggravation, that the utmost expressions of shame and rage are too low to set it forth: and therefore I shall leave it to receive such a resentment, as is worthy of a *parliament*.

It is likewise our universal *wish*, that his majesty should grant liberty to coin half-pence in this kingdom for our
own

own use, under such restriction as a parliament *here* shall advise; since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every *petty* prince abroad; and was always practised by Scotland to the very time of the *union*; yet surely Scotland as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself a fourth part the value of Ireland; (for bishop Burnet says, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of Britain) and with respect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess, that a *mote* in the *eye*, or a *thorn* in the *side*, is more dangerous and painful than a *beam* or a *spear* at a *distance*.

The histories of England, and of most other countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical effects from the abuses of *coin* by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon *occasions*, to the public loss; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the *tendereft* point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is *arbitrary* or *unsettled*, no man can well be said to have any *property* at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some *indulgence* from England; not only upon the score of *christianity*, *natural equity*, and the *general rights of mankind*, but chiefly on account of that *immense profit* they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very *different* figure in Europe, from what it doth at present.

The rents of land in Ireland, since they have been of *late* so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at least is directly transmitted to those, who are perpetual absentees in England; as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers and England a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can

130 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

remember, and leave them to the consideration of those, who understand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The *occasional* absentees, for business, health, or diversion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his absence; which is usually four fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the *post-office*.

The *numerous pensions* paid to persons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in England, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue, always absent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vast charge of appeals to the house of lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to England for coals; whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past for corn sent over hither from England; the effect of our own *great wisdom* in discouraging agriculture.

The *kind* liberty granted us of wearing Indian stuffs, and calicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, besides the profit to England *, is an inconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to England, by selling them *all* our *wool* at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime cost: *a proceeding without example in the christian or heathen world.*

Our own *wool* returned upon us in English manufactures to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our *mines* accruing to England; an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

* From whence these commodities were exported to Ireland, the East-India company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured. *Hawkes.*

An affectation among us of liking all kinds of goods made in England *.

These and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near seven hundred thousand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to England. And upon the whole, let any man look into those authors who write upon the subject of *commerce*, he shall find, that there is not one single article in the essentials or circumstances of trade, whereby a country can be a *loser*, which we do not possess in the *highest perfection*; somewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of *analogy* to William Wood; and now the *branches* are all cut off, he stands ready with his *ax* at the *root*.

Upon this subject of *perpetual absentees* I have spent some time in very insignificant reflections; and considering the usual motives of human actions, which are *pleasure*, *profit*, and *ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how those persons find their account in *any* of the *three*. I speak not of those English peers or gentlemen, who beside their estates at home have possessions here, for in that case the matter is desperate; but I mean those lords, and wealthy knights, or squires, whose birth and partly their education and *all* their fortune (except some trifle, and that in a very few instances) are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during several years, when I resided in England; and truly I could not discover, that the *figure* they made was by any means a subject for *envy*, at least it gave me *two very different passions*. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an *opera*, or sometimes appearing *behind a crowd* at court, or adding to the ring of *coaches* in Hide-Park, or losing their money at the *chocolate-house*, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin; I say, besides these and a few other privileges of *less* importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder how a man of birth and spirit could endure to

* Many of the above articles have been since particularly computed by another writer, to whose treatise the reader is referred. *Hawkes*.

be wholly insignificant and obscure in a *foreign country*, when he might live with lustre in *his own*; and even at less than half that expence, which he *strains* himself to make without obtaining any *one* end, except that which happened to the *frog*, when he would needs contend for size with the *ox*. I have been told by scholars, that Cæsar said he would rather be the *first* man in I know not what village, than the *second* in Rome. This perhaps was a thought only fit for Cæsar: but to be *preceded* by *thousands* and *neglected* by *millions*; to be wholly without *power*, *figure*, *influence*, *honour*, *credit*, or *distinction*, is not, in my poor opinion, a very *amiable situation* of life to a person of *title* or *wealth*, who can so cheaply and easily *shine* in his native country.

But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country seats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to supply expences in England; the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons hath been the cause of *another fatal consequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very considerable* number of lords, who possess the amplest fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the affairs of their own country in *parliament*; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house, would in all human probability have prevented *certain proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*, because they *never can be remedied*: and we might have then *decided our own properties among ourselves*, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to *another kingdom* for justice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of *servitude* without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of England were so desirous to determine *our controversies*; because I have been assured, and *partly know*, that the frequent *appeals* from hence have been very *irksome* to that illustrious body: and whoever hath frequented the *painted chamber* and *courts of requests* must have observed, that they are never so *nobly* filled, as when an Irish appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were
content

content to reside in their castles and houses in that *bleak and barren climate*; and although some of them made frequent journies to London, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families, till very lately, to have made England their constant habitation before the *union*: or if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own advantage*; and whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates; and by that means enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *absentees* under the degree of *peers*; what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether those, who live in another kingdom upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the *revenues they receive from it*; I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant seats*, who have no interest here except a precarious employment, and consequently can have no views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced; this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, *if it be a question at all*.

But, besides the prodigious profit which England receives by the transmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of this whole kingdom, it hath another mighty advantage by making our country a *receptacle*, wherein to *disburden* themselves of their *supernumerary* pretenders to offices; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, *like birds of passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *credit* and *employments* are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say what Luther said of himself; *POOR Ireland maketh many rich*.

If amidst all our difficulties I should venture to assert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what *possible* advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain, that all the *regular seeds* of *party* and *faction* among us are entirely rooted out, and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* generation, without any seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond

beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the score of our *birth-place* and *climate*.

The *parties* in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to *favour the pretender*; and those, who were *zealous opposers of him*. Secondly, of those who were *for and against a toleration of dissenters by law*. Thirdly, of *high and low church*; or (to speak in the *cant* of the times) of *whig* and *tory*. And fourthly, of *court and country*. If there be any more, they are beyond my observation or politics: for as to *subaltern* or *occasional parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the same originals.

Now it is manifest, that all these incitements to *faction, party, and division* are wholly removed from among us. For as to the *pretender*, his cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete*: there are very few now alive, who were *men* in his father's time, and in that prince's interest; and in all others the obligation of conscience hath no place*: even the *papists* in general of any substance or estates, and their *priests* almost universally, are what we call *whigs*, in the sense which by that word is generally understood. They feel the *smart*, and see the *scars* of their former *wounds*; and very well know, that they must be made a *sacrifice* to the least attempts towards a *change*; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *superstition* restored under any prince whatsoever.

Secondly, the *dissenters* are now *tolerated by law*: neither do we observe any *murmurs* at present from that quarter, except those *reasonable* complaints they make of *persecution*, because they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very small in either *house* of parliament, they are not *yet* in a situation to erect a *party*: because however indifferent men may be with regard to *religion*, they are *now* grown wise enough to know, that if such a *latitude* were allowed to *dissenters*, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find *other hands* to lay hold on them.

* The obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance.
Hawkes.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the dispute between *high* and *low church* is now at an end; two thirds of the *bishops* having been promoted in *this* reign, and most of them from England, who have bestowed *all* preferments in their gift to those they could well *confide in*: the *deanries* all, except three, and many principal church livings, are in the donation of the crown: so that we already possess *such a body of clergy*, as will never engage in controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* subject.

Lastly, as to *court* and *country parties*, so famous and avowed under most reigns in English parliaments: this kingdom hath not for several years past been a proper scene, whereon to exercise such contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great employments for life being in *distant* hands, and the *reversions* *diligently* watched and *secured*: the temporary ones of any *inviting* value are all bestowed *elsewhere* as fast as they drop, and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen like myself. And therefore, to institute a *court* and *country party* without *materials*, would be a very new system in politics, and what I believe was never thought on before; nor unless in a *nation of ideots* can ever succeed, for the most ignorant Irish cottager will not *sell his cow for a groat*.

Therefore I conclude, that all *party* and *faction* with regard to public proceedings are now extinguished in this kingdom*; neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly *revive*: unless some new causes be administered; which cannot be done without *crossing the interests of those, who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures*. And general calamities *without hope of redress* are allowed to be the great *unifiers* of mankind.

However we may dislike the *causes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an universal concord among us in all *national debates*, as well as in *cities, corporations, and country neighbourhoods* may keep us at least alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in *peace* and *amity*. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-

* Since this discourse was written, it hath appeared by experience, that the author was much mistaken in his conjectures.

drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the *subject of the quarrel*; which when none of them could tell, they put up their swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been our case, I hope the *latter* will be so too, that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *something* that may give us a title to fall out, since nature hath instructed even a brood of *goslings* to *stick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any country, where every man wishes the same thing with relation to the public, may in several points of the greatest importance in some measure supply the *defect of power* and even of *those rights, which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind*. If the universal *wish* of the nation upon any point were declared by the *unanimous* vote of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of lords, I should think myself obliged in conscience to act in my sphere according to that vote: because in all free nations I take the proper definition of *law* to be, the *will of the majority of those who have the property in land*; which, if there be a monarchy, is to confirmed by the royal assent. And although such *votes or declarations* have not received such a confirmation for certain *accidental reasons*; yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the *subject*, provided they neither oppose the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which however can reasonably be supposed. Thus for instance, if nine in ten of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered *brass coin*, except under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as *enemies to the king and the nation*; I should think it a heinous sin in myself to act contrary to such a vote: and if the same power should declare the same *censure* against those, who wore Indian stuffs and *callicoes*, or *woollen manufactures imported from abroad*, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, I should *readily, heartily, and cheerfully* pay obedience; and to my utmost power persuade others to do the like: because there is no *law* of
this

this land obliging us either to *receive such coin*, or to *wear such foreign manufactures*.

* Upon this last article I could humbly wish, that the reverend the *clergy* would set us an example by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Irish drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the *laily*, and set many hands to work, so they would find their advantage in the *cheapness*, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable body. † And in order to this I could heartily desire, that the most ingenuous artists of the weaving trade would contrive some decent stuffs and silks for *clergymen* at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporation of *weavers* in silk and woollen would publish some *proposals* (I wish they would do it to both houses of parliament) inviting persons of all degrees and of both sexes, to wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapning. So that if I sent a child for a piece of stuff of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction; and the name of the tradesman, who did me the wrong, should be published; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake: for, besides the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dextrous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disreputation; and the gentry call for English cloth, or silk, from an opinion

* This hath since been put in practice by the persuasions and influence of the supposed author; but much defeated by the most infamous fraud of shopkeepers. *Hawkes*.

† This scheme was likewise often urged to the weavers by the supposed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice. *Hawkes*.

they

they have (and often too justly by our own faults) that the *goodness* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it hath been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of these foul and foolish proceedings too many instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received such a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of Wood's project could out-do it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain: but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the *northern* weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad, and the price so excessive, that, except some small quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent persons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to Spain would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of *traytors*, and *enemies* to God and their country; who for the prospect of a little *present* gain, do not only ruin themselves (for that alone would be an *example* to the rest, and a *blessing* to the nation) but sell their souls to hell, and their country to destruction. And if the *plague* could have been confined only to those who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled hither from *Marfeilles*, those wretches would have died with less title to *pity* than a *highway-man* going to the gallows.

But it happens very *unluckily*, that for *some time past* all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the public service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this to my knowledge hath been the style of *some persons*, whose *ancestors* (I mean those among them who

who had any) and *themselves* have been *flying in princes faces* these fourscore years; and from their own inclinations would do so still, if their interest did not lead them rather to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for such a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a discourse * was published endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the king, and without the least *party hint*, it was termed *flying in the king's face*; the printer was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and, I hope *it will somewhere be remembered further*, the jury kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a *special verdict*; the † judge on the bench *invoking God for his witness*, when he asserted, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus also my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admission of Wood's coin were called by the same persons, *flying in the king's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that *vile* representation of the royal *countenance* in William Wood's adulterate copper to be his sacred majesty's *face*; or if it were, my *flying* was not against the *impression*, but the *baseness* of the *metal*; because I well remembered, that the *image* which Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and worship it, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few *royal images* of that *metal* among us; the sight whereof, although it could hardly encrease our veneration for his majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much *enliven* it with the mixture of *comfort* and *satisfaction*.

Alexander the great would suffer no statuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in stone or metal. How must he have treated such an operator as Wood, who goes about with *sack-fulls* of *drofs*, odiously misrepresenting his prince's *countenance*; and would force them by thousands upon every one of us at above *six times the value*.

* The proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures.

† Judge Whitshed.

But,

But, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by William Wood himself, together with his *favourers, abettors, supporters*, either *public* or *private*; by those who *connive* at this project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *opposers* for fear of lessening their *favour*, or hazarding their *employments*; by those, who endeavour to *damp* the *spirit* of the people raised against this coin, or check the honest zeal of such as by their *writings* or *discourses* do all they can to keep it up; by those *softeners, sweetners, compounders, and expedient-mongers*, who *shake* their *heads* so strongly that we can *bear* their *pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of such *enemies* to the kingdom I was *flying in the king's face*; or thought they were better *representers* of his majesty, than that very *coin*, for which they are *secret* or *open* advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those *wishes* of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

First, that an end might be put to our apprehensions of Wood's half-pence, and to any danger of the *like* destructive scheme for the future.

Secondly, that half-pence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, that the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the house of commons, was declared by some *unanimous* and *heartly votes* against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing Indian silks or calicoes, which are forbidden under the highest penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation; because we are under a *greater necessity* to do so, since we are not allowed to *export* any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, that some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of our natives in all those parts of this kingdom, where the Irish abound, by introducing among them our language and customs; for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords.

landlords. And if I had in me the least spirit of a *projector*, I would engage, that this might be effected in a few years at a very inconsiderable charge.

Fifthly, that due encouragement should be given to *agriculture*; and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engrossing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, that the defects in those acts for planting forest trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unskillfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to enclose grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of skill and industry. The neglect of *copping* woods cut down hath likewise been of very evil consequences. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of *cutting down their own woods* before the proper time, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country either in *shipping* or *building*.

I may add that absurd practice of cutting *turf* without any regularity; whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the *turf* more difficult to come at and carry home, and less fit for burning; the air made unwholesome by stagnating pools and marshes; and the very sight of such places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious custom be allowed of cutting *scraws* (as they call them) which is flaying of the green surface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; sometimes in shallow soils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and sometimes in low grounds, with a thin green sward, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into bog by this mismanagement. And I have heard from very skilful countrymen, that by those two practices in *turf* and *scraws* the kingdom loseth some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; besides the
the

the irreparable loss of many skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of grass, and yet are mangled for *turf*; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be of great convenience for bringing their *turf* home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer pasture.

These, and some other speculations of the like kind, I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of parliament; because, in some periods of my life I had opportunity and curiosity to observe, from what causes those great errors in every branch of country management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some perhaps would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all possible means to avoid. And for the same reason I chose to add here the little I thought proper to say on this subject.

But, as to the lands of those who are *perpetual absentees*, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants sat at easy rents; but for some years past they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of *merciless agents* from England, than even those who held under the severest landlords here. I was assured upon the place by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious estate in the county of Cork being let upon leases for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was so high, that the tenants begged leave to surrender their *leases*, and were content to lose their *fines*.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a subject worthy of the highest enquiry in any country, but especially in ours; where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade, that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those, which are of the greatest importance; whereof I defy the most learned man in Europe to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the *benefit* which God and nature intended to us; as manifestly appears by our *happy situation for commerce*, and the *great number of our excellent ports*. So that I think, little is left us, besides the cultivating our own soil, encouraging *agriculture*, and making great plantations of trees, that we might
not

not be under the necessity of sending for *corn* and *bark* from England: and *timber* from other countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products, as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in England: that few *politicians*, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a common-wealth, as an *honest farmer*; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring and planting, hath increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a *perpetual service* to his country; which it is a great controversy whether any of the *former* ever did, since the creation of the world; but no controversy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

Although, in the foregoing letters, Dr Swift talks of liberty in a strain highly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights of his country, which he maintains with great force of law, reason, justice, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole course of his arguments, from the distinguishing characteristics of the most loyal subject; whatever might to the contrary have been supposed by a few degenerate slaves and sycophants in those days; even by that sort of people, who, as the wise Lord Bacon expresses it, would set a house on fire for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame. *D. Swift.*

However indeed, such was the iniquity of the times, that a reward of 300 l. was offered for the author of the 4th letter, chiefly because he had maintained therein the liberty of his country, and declared in very high terms worthy of a brave and resolute mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his sovereign Lord the King, whatever turn, in the vicissitudes of this world, his majesty's affairs might possibly take in other parts of his dominions.—I shall only remark upon this doctrine, the contrary of which would, I think, have been high treason, and against his oath of allegiance, that how much soever it was condemned in the year 1724 by slaves and flatterers; it was in 1745 so universally established in the minds of men, that if there had been occasion for the people of Ireland to have drawn the sword in defence of their sovereign, (which, beside their loyalty and affection to his majesty, they have many reasons to thank God for that there was not), K. George II. would undoubtedly have been supported in his right to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his majesty's affairs in other parts of his dominions

144 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS, ETC.

nions have taken what turn they might, by 300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout all Europe; even by the grandchildren of those men so renowned for their valorous achievements in the days of K. William III.—As the author of the 4th letter could not be discovered, Harding the printer was indicted in the usual forms, and brought to the King's bench, to be tried before that William Whitshed above mentioned. But the noble jury, friends to their country and to the public interest, would not find the bill. Whereupon the Chief Justice in a rage dissolved the jury: on account of which he deserved to have been impeached by the house of commons; because the dissolving of a grand jury, etc. See above, p. 81. l. 5. *Swift*.

The

THE DRAPIER DEMOLISHED, and set out in
his own proper colours ; being a full CON-
FUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS against
Mr. WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Esq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

I Make not the least doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and considered what I shall offer upon the present occasion in my own defence, and against your Drapier, when ye shall make an exact *assay* of the arguments on both sides between him and me : and, lastly, when ye shall observe, as I shall point it out, the abusive and reproachful language with which he has treated me ; I say, as I said before, I make not the least doubt, but ye will all to a man reject him, and embrace me with open arms.

In his first letter to the *tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general of the kingdom of Ireland* [above, p. 13.], he begins with the wheedling preamble of *brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-subjects*. A loving beginning indeed ! But I wonder which of us two loves you best ; he that is getting you no money at all, or I who am this present providing more money for you than you shall know what to do with. O sad ! O sad ! I am really concerned for the poor Drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and says,

“ It is a great fault among you, that when a person
“ writes with no other intention than to do you good,
“ you will not be at the pains to read his advices.”
[p. 14.]

Artful enough indeed ! This he did to draw you in like so many gudgeons, to swallow his false arguments ; and you see he has accomplished his end at last ; for had ye
VOL. III. G not

not read his letters, ye might have had the benefit of my half-pence these five or six months past.

“ Now you must know, that the half-pence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth; and if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the brazier, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr Wood made his half-pence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brazier would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his.” [p. 15.]

Ay, would he give three pence. But one may see his malice here with half an eye. He does not tell of the vast expence and trouble I am at in coining; the number of clerks I keep in pay; how much I was out of pocket in getting my *patent*; the great expence I shall be at in shipping them to Ireland; which must, in the nature of things, be a vast drawback to the profit which I ought to have for my trouble; and therefore it cannot be supposed I can either put as much or as good copper in the half-pence for Ireland, as those for England. But, good Lord! is not an half-penny a half-penny, when once it is called so; and if it passes for an half-penny, can you expect any more? Good people, never mind one word he says, though he sells you a dozen hats at five shillings a-piece, which is three pound, is but five shillings in my money; this is perfect *transubstantiation* to juggle you out of your senses — three pound is but five shillings! Well, if this be his computation, I have done.

“ This same Mr Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest;” [and why should not I?]; “ he is an Englishman, and had great friends,” [God be thanked for that]; “ and it seems knew very well where to give money to those that would speak to others, that could speak to the King, and would tell a fair story.” [I grant that, and what would he infer?] Then he proceeds: “ If his Majesty the King saw that it would utterly ruin the kingdom of Ireland, he would shew his displeasure to some body or other. But a word to the wise is enough.” [We know his meaning by his mumping; he had as well spoken what he thought, like an honest man. He proceeds]: “ Most
“ of

“ of you must have heard with what anger our honour-
 “ able house of commons received an account of this
 “ Wood’s patent. There were several fine speeches
 “ made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a wick-
 “ ed cheat, from the bottom to the top; and several
 “ smart votes were printed, which that same Wood had
 “ the assurance to answer likewise in print, and in so con-
 “ fident a way, as if he were a better man than our whole
 “ parliament put together.” [p. 16.]

The parliament was angry—made speeches—found me to be a wicked cheat—and I answered as if I had been a better man than the whole parliament.—Well, I find this Drapier will say any thing; but I am very glad all the kingdom of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the Drapier answer me only these three questions: where did this parliament sit? And where are the speeches? And where is my answer?

“ The common soldier, when he goes to the market
 “ or alehouse, will offer this money,” [meaning my half-
 pence]; “ and if it be refused, perhaps he will swagger
 “ and hector, and threaten to beat the butcher or ale-
 “ wife” [threaten indeed! he will do it in earnest],
 “ or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad
 “ half-pence.” [Why should he not? Is it any robbery
 if he pays them!] “ In this and the like cases, the
 “ shopkeeper, or victualler, or any other tradesman, has
 “ no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of
 “ his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood’s money; for
 “ example, *twenty pence for a quart of ale.*” [p. 17.]
 The devil is in his conscience, *twenty pence for a quart
 of ale!* I believe such another proposal was never since
 Adam. To consider all other things in proportion, what
 mischief would this occasion? That is, fifteen shillings a
 bottle for claret, at eighteen pence a bottle; for a flask
 of Burgundy five and forty shillings; fifty shillings a-day
 for a coach; ten shillings a dinner for a twelve penny or-
 dinary; thirty shillings a-day for a chair; ten pence a
 fresh egg; five pence a half-penny roll; two pence half-
 penny for a pint of small beer. In short, by his advice,
victuallers, vintners, and trades-folk would soon get all
 the money of the kingdom into their own hands, should
 they all follow the *pot-of-ale example.* And now to

consider the poor, they would be undone by the Drapier's advice; the butcher would have eighteen pence for a sheep's head; the baker ten shillings for a twelve-penny loaf; and thus would it be in proportion as to all their other exigencies. No, no, rather take my advice; *1200 pence a-quart, and my blessing.*

In p. 17. he denies that my half-pence are lawful money of England or Ireland. I suppose then he would have them lawful money of Scotland or Wales; for they must be lawful some-where. For does he think, under the scarcity of money we find at present, that we can afford to let fourscore and ten thousand pound lie dead? I need no other argument to shew what a friend he is to the public.

"They say 'Squire Conolly hath sixteen thousand pounds a-year; now, if he sends for his rent to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty horses to bring up his half-year's rent.'" [p. 18.]

Suppose he must, where is the great hardship? If a man of sixteen thousand a-year cannot afford two hundred and fifty horses to draw his money, he deserves to want it. I'll engage his under-tenants will lay it down at his door, and it shall not cost him a farthing for the carriage.

"These half-pence if they once pass, will soon be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply done, the stuff is so base. The Dutch likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our goods." [p. 18.]

The stuff is good stuff, let him say what he will; and the half-pence are good half-pence, and I will stand by it: If I made them of silver, it would be the same thing to this grumbler. As for their being counterfeited, sure they counterfeit gold and silver, and can one help that? for there ever have been rogues of coiners in the world, and will be to the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time enough to complain when they do coin. I am certain they have not coined one half-penny as yet; and if they should, I shall take care to stock you so well, that you shall have no occasion for theirs; so that they may carry them home again if they please.

"It would be very hard, if all Ireland should be put into one scale, and this sorry fellow Wood into the o-

"ther;

“ther; that Mr Wood and his half-pence should weigh
 “down this whole kingdom, by which England gets a-
 “above a million of good money every year clear into
 “their pockets; and that is more than the English do by
 “all the world besides.” [p. 19.]

Parturiunt montes——But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not understand.

“A famous *law-book*, called *The mirrour of justice*,
 “discourfing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our
 “*ancient kings*, declares the law to be as follows: It
 “was ordained, that no *king* of this realm should *change*,
 “*impair*, or *amend*, or make any *money* than of *gold*
 “or *silver*, without the assent of all the counties; that
 “is, as my lord Coke [1 Inst. 576.] fays, without the
 “assent of *parliament*.” [p. 20.]

Then he concludes, according to custom, with his fine flattering speeches.

“I will now, my dear friends, to fave you the trouble,
 “fet before you in fhort what the law obliges you
 “to do, and what it does not oblige you to.” [This Drapier is an excellent lawyer, I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor.]

“First, you are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the king, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of gold or silver.

“Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of gold or silver.——

“Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those vile half-pence of that same Wood.——

“Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all: refuse this filthy trash. It is no treason to rebel against Mr Wood. His Majesty, in his patent, obliges no body to take these half-pence.” [p. 22.]

So then, at this rate, they are coined for no body, by some body; and some body is to get nothing by no body. I have made a fine hand of my patent and coinage. Ye see, gentlemen, the force of that argument which the Drapier offers; but I find logic is not his talent. Thus have I, with great patience, gone through this injurious piece of satire upon myself contained in this first letter. But knowing that the best undertakers have

always met with enemies and detractors, I comfort my self that I have far defeated this malicious author; that you are all convinced, I am now for all your goods; and though a perfect stranger to the country of Ireland, yet a little time will shew what industry and pains it has cost me, to make you a flourishing and a happy people. It is my inclination to preserve a good understanding between me and you, however wicked people may endeavour to interpose. Before I conclude, I have one complaint more: I am told, that *pitiful, malicious, insidious, undermining, scribbling Drapier* set on a parcel of *tattered, filthy, Irish, butter-milk, potatoe scoundrels*, to carry my effigies about in *Wood*, and afterwards hang it at Stephen's Green [above, p. 151.]; for which I hope, when the parliament sits, to have ample satisfaction. I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland were concerned in that abominable procession.

I am your best friend,

W. W.

A full

A full and true account of the solemn procession to the GALLOWS, at the execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Esq; and hard-ware-man *.

Written in the year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report spread, that William Wood, hard-ware-man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's † house here in Dublin, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both sexes, crowded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner and a counterfeiter. Amongst the rest, a certain curious person standing in a corner observed, that they all discovered their resentments in the proper terms and expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me, with leave to publish them for the use of those, who at any time hereafter may be at a loss for proper words wherein to express their good dispositions towards the said William Wood.

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament-man. *Expel him the house.*

2d parliament-man. I second that *motion.*

Cook. I'll *baste* him.

2d Cook. I'll give him his *belly-full.*

3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops.*

4th Cook. I'll *forvee* him.

* In this piece the author makes the several artificers attend William Wood (represented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradesman expresses his resentment in the terms of his proper calling. Then follows the procession, most humorously described. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the strongest gravity to withstand. *Orrery.*

† One Molyneux an ironmonger.

Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.
 Bookseller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.
 Sadler. I'll *pummel* him.
 Glazier. I'll make the *lights* shine through him.
 Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
 Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.
 'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.
 2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.
 School-master. I'll make him an *example*.
 Rabbet-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.
 Paviour. I'll *thump* him.
 Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.
 WHIG. *Down* with him.
 TORY. *Up* with him.
 Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders*.
 2d Miller. *Dam* him.
 Boat-man. *Sink* him.
 Scavenger. Throw him in the *kenne*l.
 Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
 Bagnio-man. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.
 Whore. *Pox* rot him.
 2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
 3d Whore. *Clap* him up.
 Mustard-maker. I'll have him by the *nose*.
 Curate. I'll make the *devil* come out of him.
 Popish-priest. I'll *send* him to the devil.
 Dancing-master. I'll *teach* him *better manners*.
 2d Dancing-master. I'll make him cut a *caper* three
 story high.
 Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.
 Taylor. I'll sit on his *skirts*.
 2d Taylor. *Hell* is too good for him.
 3d Taylor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.
 4th Taylor. I'll make his a—— make *buttons*.
 Basket-maker. I'll *bamper* him.
 Fidler. I'll have him by the *ears*.
 2d Fidler. I'll bang him to some *tune*.
 Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.
 2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiskers*.
 3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* stand on end.
 4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.
 Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobler.

Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.
 Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoak*.
 2d Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *pipes*.
 Gold-finder. I'll make him *stink*.
 Hackney-coachman. I'll make know his *driver*.
 2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.
 Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.
 2d Butcher. Let us *blow* him up.
 3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.
 Nurse. I'll *swaddle* him.
 Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond*.
 Ostler. I'll *rub* him down.
 Shoemaker. Set him in the *stocks*.
 Banker. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.
 2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.
 Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
 Gamester. I'll make his *bones rattle*.
 Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his fides.
 Gardener. I'll make him *water* his *plants*.
 Ale-wife. I'll *reckon* with him.
 Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his horns.
 Old Woman. I'll *mumble* him.
 Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But at last the people, having received assurances, that William Wood was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigie; whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-guards*, with short sticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, Esq; represented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed at proper distances several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck served him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with persons in his condition (which some censorious people imputed to affecta-

tion) for he was covered with a large rugg of several colours in patchwork : he was borne upon the shoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St Stephen's-green, he often bowed on both sides to shew his respects to the company ; his deportment was grave ; and his countenance, though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his nose, and a handkerchief in his left hand to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himself in person* ; whose venerable aspect drew the eyes of the whole assembly upon him ; but he was further distinguished by a halter, which he bore upon his left shoulder as the badge of his office.

Then followed two persons hand in hand ; the one representing William Wood's brother-in-law ; the other a certain *sadler*, his intimate friend, whose name I forget. Each had a small kettle in his hand, wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new half-pence. At proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The procession was closed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently sent out loud huzza's ; which were censured by wiser heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr Wood himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance ; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself with great resignation to the hangman, who was indeed thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him pardon. His dying
SPEECH

SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-*timbered* a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think, how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their liberality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an ale-house of distinction, and in a manner suitable to the quality of the deceased. While the attendants were discoursing about his funeral, a worthy member of the assembly stood up and proposed, that the body should be carried out the next day, and burned with the same pomp and formalities used at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine o'clock on the following morning there appeared a second procession. But, burning not having been any part of the sentence, authority thought fit to interpose, and the corps was rescued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occasions many speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is positively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witnesses, that there does not appear the least alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor visible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The solution of which difficulty, I shall leave among naturalists.

Some

Some considerations on the attempts to pass
Mr WOOD'S BRASS MONEY in Ireland.

By a lover of his country.

IT is a melancholy consideration, to see *the several resolutions and addresses of both houses of parliament of Ireland, during their late session, the late address of his majesty's justices and privy-council of that kingdom, and the petition of the county of the city of Dublin*; whereby the unanimous sense of this nation, and *the great apprehensions they were under, from importing and uttering copper-half-pence and farthings in Ireland, by virtue of the patent granted to William Wood*, have been represented in the strongest terms: I say; it is a melancholy consideration, to see the force of all these representations, eluded by the petitions of a single person, such as Mr Wood.

If justice stood on the side of this single person, it ought to give good men pleasure to see that right should take place; but when, on the contrary, the common-weal of a whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people distracted with apprehension of the utmost danger to their properties, nay, the preservation of the purity of their laws, is overborne by private interest, what good man but must lament such an unhappy state of affairs?

And since the matter was of this importance, and seemed to carry with it the testimony of heaven, in the universal cry of the people, how could any particular members of a community, which had thus with one voice deprecated the evil, with any shew of reason take upon them the risk of any miscarriage in a trial, in a subordinate court?

It was to our gracious sovereign, that all these addresses and petitions were presented: it was into his fatherly hands the whole nation committed the care of their cause; and it would have been the highest piece of arrogance, for any person to have presumed to take upon them-

themselves a share in that trust, which was only reposed in his majesty's hands. It is no wonder therefore, *that every one was guarded with caution, against giving any advice or opinion in this matter of state; for which reason they ought to apprehend great danger to themselves, from meddling in it.*

Though *this proceeding may seem extraordinary*; yet it being on a most extraordinary matter, on a matter of such importance, as seemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the issue of it; on a matter wherein the lords and commons were complainants, and the king immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but also as particular and only trustee, in whom his people reposed entire confidence to redress the grievances complained of; was it not intirely reasonable and fit, that every particular person of this kingdom, should *rest* upon what was done by the whole body of the people duly assembled in parliament, and not arrogantly assume to themselves, a power of putting the fate of this nation to an issue before twelve men?

Since then it plainly appears, that this matter is of such a high nature, that no particular person ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be presumed, that the non-appearance of persons to support the united sense of both houses of parliament of Ireland, can never be construed as a general diffidence, of being able to support the charge brought against the patent and patentee; though indeed it might proceed from a general and a very reasonable apprehension of a miscarriage in this important affair; wherein both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon evidence, and examination taken in the most solemn manner; that for my part, I (and so I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their resolutions, to have the same dignity (in this case) with a maxim in law, *quia maxima est eorum dignitas, et certissima auctoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur.*

And therefore I don't presume to enter the lists, in order to support the resolutions of both houses of parliament; for I look upon it, that they are *so sure and uncontrollable, that they ought not to be questioned*; but it shall be the business of this paper, to point out some of the

the mischiefs, which will naturally result from this coinage of Mr Wood's, in case it should be forced upon us.

We are told, that the power of issuing this money of Mr Wood's, is limited, *and without any compulsion, and currency enforced, to be received by such only, as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same.* But then it is melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained to be obligatory on all his majesty's officers and ministers, to receive the same.

By this means there is a foundation laid for the most unheard-of confusion that ever was introduced into the business of a nation; for here is established a species of money, made of the basest metal, which none in employments under his majesty must refuse in payments to the crown or to themselves, and yet all the rest of his subjects are at liberty to refuse the same in payments to be made to them, either by his majesty, or by any other person.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be *highly prejudiced*, by the want of intrinsic value in the coin with which it is paid; and the army and all others in employments under his majesty, are the persons, who, in the first place, must bear the burthen of this mischief. For if they are the only persons who are *obliged* to receive this coin as current money, it is to be presumed that no other persons will receive the same but with considerable allowance for the difference between the *brass money*, and that made of gold and silver.

And even with a considerable allowance, it will be hard to conceive how this *brass money*, will find any degree of currency in the world, without the assistance of a set of men, who may probably raise great estates in this unsettled course of affairs; but such a set of people ought never to be encouraged by a wise government, for they will make their fortunes by the losses of good subjects, and by preying on the revenue of the prince: and yet those *bucksterers*, or *money-jobbers* will be found necessary if this *brass money* is made current in the Exchequer.

To shew in some measure the proportion of this mischief to his majesty's revenue, and to those in immediate offices under him; it must be considered, that the gross revenue of this kingdom is about 500,000*l.* *per annum*; out of which must be deducted the charge of collection and

and draw backs; which to be sure, the several collectors, and those who are to receive the draw-backs, will take care to receive in *sterling* money; about 80,000*l.* *per annum*; and there will remain for the discharge of the civil and military lists, pensions, etc. 420,000*l.* *per annum*, which sum, it is probable, issues out of the treasury by monthly payments of about 35,000*l.* *per month*, for otherwise the current cash in this nation could not possibly pay the revenue, and serve to carry on even the little business of this country, for it hath never been computed that our current coin amounts to more than 500,000*l.* so that if 40,000*l.* of Mr Wood's *brass* money is thrown in upon us (even admitting that no more of this species should be brought in) it is manifest that that sum will be near one twelfth of the whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's pay of the civil and military lists, and pensions, etc. of this kingdom.

If this sum should stagnate in the treasury, it is certain there will be no greater loss (immediately brought) by this coin to the revenue, than the money that there lies dead amounts to: but if it is issued in monthly payments to the army, and other his majesty's officers and ministers, as in all probability it must; then this coin, being composed of a base metal, current only in the exchequer, where it is received at an imaginary value, of at least 60 *per cent.* more than the real value of the material, it will be suddenly paid back again to the collectors, and by that means pass through the treasury, at least three times in every year; for there we are told, it is to meet with *no let or molestation.*

And seeing the currency of this money is not enforced on any other of his majesty's subjects, it is easy to conceive, that the difference of value between this coin, and the gold and silver which will be current in the nation, will be settled by the *money-jobbers*, at about 20 *per cent* discount.

By which means alone, there will be lost in the intrinsic value of the revenue the sum of 24,000*l.* *per ann.* without computing for the losses which must necessarily be brought to the revenue, by the general diffidence, which the introducing this coin will create among the people; all which will be manifestly *destructive of the trade and commerce*

commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject.

And yet the evil has been here computed on a supposition that only 40,000*l.* of this money will be uttered in the kingdom; but I take it to be impossible to limit the quantity that shall be brought in, especially if the importers of it have so sure a market for the same as the Exchequer.

For though his majesty should be able to prevent Mr Wood from coining any more than 40,000*l.* and should never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant *his special licence or authority*, to enlarge that sum, yet it will be impossible to prevent the importation of this sort of coin from other nations. And there have been such variety of *dyes* made use of by Mr Wood in stamping his money, that it makes the discovery of counterfeiters more difficult, and the profit is so great, that it will be a sufficient temptation to our industrious neighbours of Holland to send large quantities of this coin to so sure a market as the Exchequer.

And perhaps it may be a question among lawyers, whether a man can be punished at the king's suit, for counterfeiting this coin, because it is not the current coin of the kingdom; for though these half-pence are to be received as money in the Exchequer, yet in trade they are no better than counters, and therefore the patent may perhaps be construed to be no more than a grant of a *monopoly* to make those counters.

But it is worth observing, that if this patent is so worded, as that his majesty's officers, employed in the receipt of his revenue, cannot refuse receiving this coin, it is directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in force in this kingdom, and which are to be found in the books of rates distributed among the officers of the revenue.

For by the act of tonnage and poundage, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby granted to his majesty and his successors, are to be paid in lawful money of England. And by the act of excise, or new-impost, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8. it is expressly declared and enacted, *that the several rates and duties of excise, and all fines, penalties, forfeitures, or other sum, or sums of money rated, imposed, set, or forfeited, in and by this act,*
are

are meant and intended to be current and lawful money or monies of England, and that all and every of the same, be therefore demanded, received, paid and satisfied accordingly.

By these acts it is manifest, that the collectors are obliged to receive the several duties arising from the custom and excise, in no other money but such as is current and lawful money of England; and Mr Wood's half-pence and farthings not being current or lawful money in England, or in this kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on them to receive payments in this coin, it is contrary to acts of parliament, and therefore void in itself.

And if the several collectors of his majesty's revenue in this kingdom should receive the said duties, or any part of them, in Mr Wood's *brass money*, it would be assuming to themselves a power to dispense with those acts of parliament, contrary to the sense of both houses of parliament, and contrary to their respective oaths; so that it seems highly reasonable, because consonant to law, that *the officers of the revenue, should give orders to the inferior officers, not to receive this coin.*

Perhaps it will be said, that the king hath a power to direct what coin he pleases to be received by the officers of his revenue, and that this patent is in consequence of such a prerogative. But it is to be hoped that this doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which the whole nation, as well in parliament assembled, as in their private capacities, have shewed a general dislike.

Moreover, as this case stands circumstanced, it is a great question whether his majesty hath such a dispensing power: for though it should be allowed, that his majesty might direct the receipt of his own revenue in what coin he pleases; yet it is most certain, that his majesty does not intend to enforce the currency of Wood's money among any of his subjects, much less doth his majesty intend to oblige those, who are intitled by act of parliament to be paid in current money of England, to receive this money of Mr Wood's.

And it is plain, that by the act of excise, there are several *finēs, penalties and forfeitures*, which by virtue of that act, are to be received in current money of England,
and

and to half those *finés, forfeitures and penalties*, the informers are intitled by virtue of the said act: so that if the officers should be obliged to receive them in *brass money*, the informers must necessarily lose the benefit of the said act: and I may venture to say, that act cannot be repealed but by another act, to be made by king, lords, and commons; and not by a patent.

All these things having been, among many other very weighty matters, laid before both houses of parliament of Ireland; it is not to be wondered, that *they represent, that the patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious misrepresentations of the state of Ireland*. For what can be more clandestine, than to obtain a patent with powers, not only *highly prejudicial to his majesty's revenue, destructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject*, but also contrary to several acts of parliament? and that it was an unprecedented attempt, at least in this reign, will be readily allowed; therefore all the representations made of the state of Ireland, in order to obtain this patent, may with great truth be called *notorious misrepresentations*.

But it has been said, that his majesty cannot proceed against the patentee, but according to the known rules and maxims of law and justice: and God forbid that any one of this kingdom, should advise his majesty to subvert or dispense with any of our laws. No part of the addresses from the houses of parliament of Ireland, has the least tendency this way.

For though the house of commons, in their second address to his majesty, *most humbly beseech his majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several officers intrusted with the receipt of his majesty's revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatsoever, utter such half-pence and farthings*: yet, if his majesty had been graciously pleased to have given orders, according to this humble address of his people of Ireland; it is humbly conceived that this would have been only an affirmation of the law of the land, as hath been said, and not any way contrary to law.

For though his majesty, by *his patent under the great seal of Great Britain, wills, requires, and commands his lieutenant,*

lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or governors of his kingdom of Ireland, and all other officers and ministers of his majesty, his heirs and successors in England, Ireland or elsewhere, to be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood, his executors, etc. in the execution of all or any the powers, authorities, directions, matters or things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their benefit or advantage, by virtue, and in pursuance of the said indentures; yet it is in all things as becometh, etc. And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the said patent, whereby it is manifest that his majesty never intended to inforce the currency of this money, to be received by any person, that would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the same.

Therefore, since the people have shewed a general dislike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that some method will be found out to ease their minds, from the distraction they are under on this occasion.

A short

A short VIEW of the STATE of IRELAND.

Written in the year 1727.

I Am assured that it hath for some time been practised as a method of making men's court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day encreasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so *cordially* asked, or so *obligingly* answered.

But since with regard to the affairs of this kingdom I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole *island*; I shall only enumerate by rules generally known and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniences of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible,

possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except those, who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent; for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby encreasing the number of their people; without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners for education, curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit or trust only to the natives; or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interest of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a public mint after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect: but without advantage

tage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our wealth proceeds and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time I will here examine, what share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; because those, who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world those, who possess most wealth, make the least parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their faces on the exchange.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reason to complain; for although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodness, and might with the same encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which however we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us, than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years it can hardly be said, that the nation have received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty

liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of lord Chief-justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *libertas et natale solum* *, written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land; those few, who attempt that or planting, through covetousness or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England; which, with the profit of employments, pensions,

* *Liberty and my native country.*

appeals,

appeals, journies of pleasure or health, education at the *inns* of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the isle of Man they coin their own *silver*; every petty prince, vassal to the *emperor*, can coin what money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries; particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more, than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true (upon which I could easily enlarge) I would be glad to know, by what secret method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing people without *liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining*; without *industry, labour, or improvement of land*; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing: and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade casual, corrupted and at mercy; and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason; like the thorn at Glaffenbury, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy *commissioners*, who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country seats; the commodious farmers houses and barns; the towns and villages

villages, where every body is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers; the comfortable diet and dress, and dwellings of the people; the vast numbers of ships in our harbours and docks, and shipwrights in our sea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England?

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or *Ice-land*, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil, and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead: the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator; who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery: there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearness of necessaries for life: because

the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take or go a begging) without raising the price of cattle, and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of buildings in this city; because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increase of *bankers*, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours; who for their private advantage have sent away all our silver, and one third of our gold; so that within three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two, and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty 'squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished, that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to *his majesty*, that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs*.

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtil piece of malice, that because there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests upon their return to England shall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet,

Yet, I confess, I have known an hospital, where all the household officers grew rich; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude: if Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers, when they deliver such paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser at the expence of all honour, conscience, and truth*.

* The present state of Ireland † is, in general, as flourishing as possible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and sciences are encouraged: and in the space of eighteen years, which is almost the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation of England, may be compared to a younger sister lately come of age, after having suffered all the miseries of an injured minor, such as law-suits, incroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, destruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length, time, and her own noble spirit of industry, have entirely relieved her, and, some little heart-burnings excepted, she enjoys the quiet possession of a very ample fortune, subject, by way of acknowledgment, to certain quit-rents, payable to the elder branch of her house. *Take her all in all, she cannot have a greater fortune than she deserves. Orrery.*

† 1752.

[1728]

An ANSWER to a paper, called, *A memoriall
of the poor inhabitants, tradesmen, and la-
bourers of the kingdom of Ireland.*

Written in the year 1728.

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer ; and sent, I suppose, to me among others without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn ; and some schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps, by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was indeed the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing ; while either through poverty, laziness or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself ; and when their leases are near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it *.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers leases were ready to engross great quantities of land ; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them security for payment. Thus a vast tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and

* This practice probably produced the penal clauses to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures.* Hawkes.

labourers

labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master-grazier with little trouble seized to himself the livelihood of an hundred people.

It must be confessed, that the farmers were justly punished for their *knavery, brutality, and folly*. But neither are the *squires and landlords* to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of *beggars*, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That *farmers* should be limited in ploughing, is very reasonable, and practised in England; and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four last years of their leases, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a *million of money*; and been more populous by above *two hundred thousand souls*.

For a people, denied the benefit of *trade*, to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a *wild Indian* would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The *grazier's* employment is to feed great flocks of *sheep*, or *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *sheep*, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity, (further than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain country*, and only to some *few* ports in that country; there is, I say something so foolish, that it wants a name in our language to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more *sheep* we have, the few human creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *flesh*. Ajax was mad, when he mistook a flock

of *sheep* for his enemies : but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the *grazier's* business is what we call *black cattle*, producing *hides*, *tallow*, and *beef* for exportation : all which are good and useful commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest part of the *hides* are sent out raw for want of *bark* to *tan* them ; and that want will daily grow stronger : for, I doubt, the new project of *tanning* without it is at an end. Our *beef*, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets for the *old reasons*. But our *tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the people, who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of public economy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the Scythians, and their posterity our kinsmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood and milk and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of *corn* ; but I confess myself so degenerate, that I am not easy without *bread* to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to see, in this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, and dearth of *human creatures*, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy it, that all kind of *flesh-meat* should be monstrously *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not some regulation in the price of *flesh*, as well as *bread* : but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason : in short, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is over-stocked with *cattle*, both *black* and *white* : and as it is observed, that the poor *Irish* have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk ; so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat *bullock* or *weather*, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head : for I am assured, that the district in the several markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reasonable as the poor can desire ; only the circumstance of *money to purchase it*, and of *trade*, or *labour*, to *purchase* that *money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now,

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of *wheat*, you say, should be imported hither; and ten thousand pounds *præmium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation? I am no commissioner of the *treasury*; but am well assured, that the whole running *cash* would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much *corn*, which, only at twenty shillings a barrel, will be a hundred thousand pounds; and ten thousand more for the *præmium*. But you will traffic for your *corn* with other goods: and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *absentees*, and other occasions, in London, besides a huge ballance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I suppose, they will value it at little more than so much a quire. Where are these *rich farmers* and *ingrossers of corn*, in so bad a year, and so little sowing?

You are in pain for two shillings *præmium*, and forget the twenty shillings for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum is all visionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miserable state* of this nation. *Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloaths*, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first; because they are unwholesome; and the last, because I should be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our misery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *secret*, which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the *customs* in London: they said, when any *commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate rate*, the consequence was to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the mistake of parliaments on such occasions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas in the business of laying *heavy impositions* two and two never made more than one; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although

the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both, who can afford such expences, is so small, that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than encreased. But, allowing no force in this argument; yet so preternatural a sum, as one hundred and ten thousand pounds, raised all on a sudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger) is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in England; which as things now stand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprizing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were starving in a *RICH* country, *etc.* Are you in earnest? is Ireland the *rich country* you mean? or are you insulting our *poverty*? were you ever out of Ireland? or were you ever in it till of late? you may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate in England. But by talking so familiarly of one hundred and ten thousand pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition; or else you would know and allow, that such a sum is not to be raised here, without a *general excise*; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in *taxes* more than England ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? Most certainly, not the poor, who will not be *able* to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in *potatoes* and *butter-milk*, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the thing at least is possible: and, I think, if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of *justice* as well as *charity*. In the mean time go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring
squires

'squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising *one hundred and ten thousand pounds*, it is as vain as that of Rabelais; which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country.

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all the warning I have in vain given the public at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity: what I write was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common understanding, that such effects must needs follow from such causes. A fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of *whig* and *tory*, of *high church* and *low church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controversy of *strops for razors* *: while *agriculture* was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradesmen, forced to beggary or banishment: *wisdom crieth in the streets; because I have called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of*

* A piece of leather pasted on wood to be used with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which several competitors eagerly contended. *Harcuef.*

my reproof. I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country, which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God hath given it in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper, entitled, *a short view of the state of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Justice Whitshed with an appearance of severity: since I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myself in that particular, I chuse to do it here: laying it therefore down for a *postulatum*, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no *little creature* of so mean a birth and genius had ever the *honour* to be a *greater enemy* to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I answer thus; whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, as some authors contend, or only one goddesses sounding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people distinguished for their *villainy* have as good a title to a blast from the *proper trumpet*, as those who are most renowned for their *virtues* have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most *celebrated profligates* have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world; yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two *printers*, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the king, nor him, nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him, and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villainies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent causuists know just *latin* enough to have

have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; so that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuser *, had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard, if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise publisheth any thing, which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto*. Even the least misrepresentation, or aggravation of facts, deserves the same censure in some degree: but in this case I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the side of extenuation.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons, (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they sleep) in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in *mischief, scandal, and obloquy*, with the *hatred and contempt* of all mankind against them; but chiefly of those among their own party, and their own family; such, whose *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noise, impudence, dulness, ignorance, vanity, and revenge*, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or safe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will *rot*, there may be some benefit for their survivors, to smell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, SIR,

your humble servant,

Dublin, March

25th, 1728.

A. B.

* Anytus one of the wretches who accused Socrates of contemning the gods, and endeavouring to subvert the religion of his country. *Hawkes*.

A VINDICATION of his Excellency JOHN LORD
CARTERET, from the charge of favouring
none but *Tories, High-churchmen, and Jacobites* †.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important subject with the greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give some account of his *excellency*; in whose life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very just suspicion of some truth in the accusation he lies under.

He is descended from two noble, antient and most loyal families, the Carterets, and the Granvilles: too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted, and what they suffered in defending the former constitution in church and state under king Charles the martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whose martyrdom a *form of prayer, with fasting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be used on the 30th day of January every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sa-*

† The view of this piece seems to be to recommend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance. *Hawkes.*

In this piece the failings of the noble Lord, arising from the prejudices of great talents and a learned education, are finely displayed with infinite wit and humour. However, indeed, there is couched here abundance of satire. *Pistorides*, that poor, angry, bustling mortal, he treats with all imaginable contempt: but in his satire against *Traulus* he spares not to draw blood at every stroke; the former part of which is bitterly sarcastic, and the latter as bitterly ironical. His account of *Agesslaus* being caught by the *parson of the parish* riding on a hobby-horse with his children, and some other touches of the like sort, are truly diverting.

D. Swift.

cred

cred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity; as we may read at large in our *common-prayer-books*; which day hath been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency the present Lord was educated in the university of Oxford; from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin and *philosophy*, than properly became a person of his rank, indeed much more of each than most of those, who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on upon his first appearance in the world, and having just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town, some bishops, and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension, eloquence, and wit; and, to finish the work, all these were fortified even in his youth with the advantages received by such employments, as are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education, having been ambassador in several courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; and made principal secretary of state at a period, when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate-house; or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak side in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dressing-room, if it were carefully searched; and there is reason to suspect, that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by *tory* hands. I am likewise assured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a session, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own, there may be some grounds for this charge;
because

because I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two scholars at his elbows, he grows a most unsupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great disadvantage. For with all the accomplishments above mentioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful person, and during the prime of youth, spirits, and vigour, he hath in a most unexemplary manner led a regular domestic life; discovers a great esteem, and friendship, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is disposed to admit an entertaining evening-companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the person may possibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a *tory*; nor at such times do the natural or *affected* fears of *popery* and the *pretender* make any part of the conversation: I presume, because neither Homer, Plato, Aristotle, or Cicero, have made any mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his excellency's failings: yet, I think it is agreed by philosophers and divines, that some allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my sentiments differ from the *orthodox* opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour Pistorides. For these have decided the matter directly against me by declaring, that no person, who was ever known to lie under the suspicion of one single *tory* principle, or who had been once seen at a great man's levee in the *worst of times* *, should be allowed to come within the verge of the castle; much less to bow in the ante-chamber, appear at the *assemblies*, or dance at a birth-night. However I dare assert, that this maxim hath been often controlled; and that on the contrary, a considerable number of *early penitents* have been received into grace, who are now an ornament, happiness, and support to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on some other points

* The three last years of queen Anne, when Lord Oxford was minister, were so called by the whigs. *Hawkes.*

of

of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not so strictly observed.

To instance only in one. I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to discover whether madam * Violante be a *whig* or *tory* in her principles; or even that she hath ever been offered the oaths to the government: on the contrary, I am told, that she openly professeth herself to be a *high-flyer*; and it is not improbable by her outlandish name, she may also be a *papist* in her heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous female openly caressed by principal persons of both parties; who contribute to support her in a splendid manner, without the least apprehensions from a *grand-jury*, or even from Squire Hartly Hutcheson himself, that zealous prosecutor of *hawkers and libels*. And, as Hobbes wisely observes, *so much money* being equivalent to *so much power*, it may deserve considering, with what safety such an instrument of power ought to be trusted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal security for her good affection to the government.

I confess, there is one evil which I could wish our friends would think proper to redress. There are many *whigs* in this kingdom of the *old-fashioned stamp*, of whom we might make very good use; they bear the same loyalty with us to the Hanoverian family in the person of king George the III. The same abhorrence of the *pretender*, with the consequences of *popery* and *slavery*, and the same indulgence to *tender consciences*: but having nothing to ask for themselves, and therefore the more leisure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears, and melancholy prospects concerning the state of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miserable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *whig* and *tory*: who, if they have any thing to lose, must be equally sufferers. Perhaps, one or two of these melancholy gentlemen will sometimes venture to publish their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our usual custom of cursing and railing at this

* A famous Italian rope-dancer. *Hawkes* species

species of thinkers, under the names of *tories*, *jacobites*, *papists*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, bustling, well-meaning mortal Pistorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one side, and of *aversion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, pestered and pounded by one single wag, who promiseth never to forsake him, living or dead?

I was much pleased with the humour of a *surgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehension, received some great injustice from the Earl of Galway, and despairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had set a-part one hundred guineas to purchase the Earl's carcase from the sexton, whenever it should dye, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and shew them for three-pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits; against whom there is no defence but innocence, and philosophy: neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to down-right stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am therefore sorry for that other miserable creature Traulus: who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to outdo even the genius of Pistorides in that miscarrying talent of railing without consistency or discretion against the most innocent persons, according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an *honest* gentleman for the bitterest invectives against one, to whom he professeth the greatest friendship: provided he acts in the dark, so as not to be discovered: but in the midst of *caresses*, *visits*, and *invitations*, to run into the streets, or to as *public a place*, and without the least pretended incitement sputter out the basest and falsest accusations; then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper, it was *all for his service*: this proceeding, I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid lest such a practitioner, with a body so open,
so

so foul, and so full of sores, may fall under the resentment of an incensed political *surgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation: who without waiting for his death, will *slay* and *dissect* him alive; and to the view of mankind lay open all the disordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and spots and flatus's of his spleen: and all this for *three-pence*.

In such a case what a scene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our mistaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expose! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies so inconsistent with each other in the same breast: furious and fawning, scurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject; most profligately false, with the strongest professions of sincerity; positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend, that if all this should be set out to the world by an angry whig of the *old* stamp, the unavoidable consequence must be a confinement of our friend for some months *more* to his garret; and thereby depriving the public for so long time, and in *so important a juncture* of his useful talents in their service, while he is fed like a wild beast through a hole; but I hope with a special regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of his nourishment.

In vain would his excusers endeavour to palliate his enormities by imputing them to madness; because it is well known, that madness only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind. For the *curators* of Bedlam assure us, that some lunatics are persons of *honour, truth, benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others on the contrary discover in every word and action the utmost *baseness* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuse the overflowings of that zeal, which our friend shews or means for our cause. And it must be confessed, that the *easy and smooth fluency* of his *eloution*, bestowed on him by nature, and cultivated by
continual

continual practice, added to the *comeliness of his person*, the *harmony of his voice*, the *gracefulness of his manner*, and the *decency of his dress*, are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist upon any public occasion of making them appear with *universal applause*. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their *jest* better than their *friend*; surely to gain the reputation of the first *orator* in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the *friends* he had in the world.

It is usual for masters to make their boys declaim on both sides of an argument; and as some kinds of assemblies are called the *schools of politics*, I confess nothing can better improve political school-boys, than the art of making plausible or implausible harangues against the very opinion, for which they resolve to determine.

So cardinal Perron, after having spoke for an hour to the admiration of all his hearers to prove the existence of God, told some of his intimates, that he could have spoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reasoning in the strongest light, that I think it will bear; and have nothing to answer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader shall please, it hath constantly met with ill success in the mouth of our *friend*; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I suspend my judgment.

To return from this long digression; if persons in high stations have *been allowed* to chuse *wench*es without regard even to difference in religion, yet never incurred the least reflection on their loyalty, or their protestantism; shall the chief governor of a great kingdom be censured for chusing a *companion*, who may formerly have been suspected for differing from the *orthodox* in some speculative opinions of persons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a sound *whig*?

But let me suppose a very possible case. Here is a person sent to govern Ireland, whose unfortunate weak side it happens to be, for several reasons above-mentioned, that he hath encouraged the attendance of *one* or *two* gentlemen distinguished for their taste, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his majesty, and pray heartily for him: yet because they may perhaps
be

be stigmatized as *quondam* tories by Pistorides and his gang, his excellency must be forced to banish them, under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good fellow, who may be a sincere *protestant* and a loyal subject, and yet rather chuse to drink fine ale at the *pope's* head, than muddy at the *king's*.

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain, the high-flown loyalists in the *present* sense of the word have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes, that the *zeal* of their *principles* hath *eaten* up their *understandings*; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love and taste, and possession of literature, politeness, and good sense? our thorough-sped republic of whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hoppers*, *pretenders*, *expecters*, and *professors*, are beyond all doubt most *highly useful* to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to their country; but at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do not deny it possible, that an original or profelyte favourite of the times might have been born to those useless talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet, or a philosopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, *it sweeps the house clean*, and leaves room for many *other spirits* to take joint possession, until the *last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first*.

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old *unfashionable* academic education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table,

to some *book-learned* companion without blushing, even when persons of *great stations* are by.

I will venture one step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to spoil their *politics* and *principles*; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons *directly contrary in every point* to the *present practice* of the world: and accordingly Hobbes most judiciously observes, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans, made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a first *minister*; and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expresses it, could never *take to their books*, yet are well enough qualified to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly spelt*) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against *religion* and *high-flying*; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world with that dignity, which best becomes a *senator* and a *squire*.

I could heartily with his excellency would be more condescending to the *genius* of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old English story-books, that one Agefilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught by the *parson of the parish* riding on a hobby-horse with his children; that Socrates a heathen philosopher was found dancing by himself at fourscore; that a king called Cæsar Augustus (or some such name) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of *tories*; and that two great men called Scipio and Lelius, (I forget their *christian* names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at *duck and drake* with smooth stones on a river. Now I say, if these facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine, why our most zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which

which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public scandal; which is by all means to be avoided: I say, why he may not be indulged twice a week to converse with one or two particular persons; and let him and them conn over their old *exploded* readings together, after mornings spent in hearing and prescribing *ways and means* from and to his *most obedient* politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the said particular person, or persons, may not have made so public a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the business of the nation requires: still submitting my opinion to that *happy majority*, which I am confident is *always in the right*; by whom the *liberty* of the subject hath been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who by their wise counsels have made *commerce* to flourish, *money* to abound, inhabitants to encrease, the value of lands and rents to rise; and the whole island put on a new face of *plenty and prosperity*.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accusation of shewing his favours to *high-flyers*, *tories*, and *jacobites*, it will be necessary to come to particulars.

The first person of a *tory* denomination, to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour, was doctor Thomas Sheridan. It is to be observed, that this happened so early in his excellency's government, as it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon so *dangerous* an article. The doctor being well known, and distinguished for his skill and success in the education of youth, beyond most of his profession for many years past, was recommended to his excellency on the score of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it seems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reasons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his lordship was too easily prevailed on by the doctor's request, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that *unknown* language by the doctor's lads, which was written by some heathen author; but whether it contained any *tory* or *high-church* principles, must be left to the consciences of the *boys*, the *doctor*, and his *excellency*; the *only* witnesses

nesses in this case, whose testimonies can be depended upon.

It seems, his excellency (a thing never to be sufficiently wondered at) was so pleased with his entertainment, that some time after he gave the doctor a church-living to the value of almost one hundred pounds a year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* notion, that good school-masters ought to be encouraged in every nation professing civility and religion. Yet his excellency did not venture to make this bold step without strong recommendations from persons of undoubted principles *fitted to the times*; who thought themselves bound in justice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of those of their friends. Yet the catastrophe was terrible; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude going down to take possession of his parish, and furnished with a few led sermons, whereof as it is to be supposed the number was very small, having never served a cure in the church; he stopt at Cork to attend on his bishop; and going to church on the *sunday* following, was, according to the usual civility of country clergymen, invited by the minister of the parish to supply the pulpit. It *happened* to be the first of August; and the first of August *happened* that year to light upon a *sunday*: and it *happened* that the doctor's text was in these words; *sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof* * : and lastly, it *happened* that some one person of the congregation, whose loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his majesty's person and government, when service was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to town; and by the zeal of one man of *no large dimensions of body or mind*, such a clamour was raised, that we in Dublin could apprehend no less than an invasion by the *pretender*, who must be landed in the *south*. The result was, that the doctor must be struck out of the chaplain's list, and appear no more at the castle; yet whether he were then, or be at this day, a *whig* or a *tory*, I think is a secret; only it is

* The first of August is the anniversary of the Hanoverian family's accession to the crown of Great Britain. *Hawkes*.

manifest,

manifest, that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at least in poetry, and a great admirer of the present royal family through all its branches. His friends likewise assert, that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that not having observed the words, till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted, he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that in the whole sermon there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident there seems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is at least, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who under the suspicion of a *tory* received some favour from his excellency, is Mr James Stopford; very strongly recommended by the most eminent *whig* in England on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of *tories*: and therefore think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglas, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The third is doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies under some disadvantage; having in his youth received many civilities from a certain person*, then in a very high station here; for which reason, I doubt the doctor never drank his confusion since, and what makes the matter desperate, it is now too late; unless our *inquisitors* will be content with drinking *confusion* to his *memory*. The aforesaid eminent person, who was a judge of all merit, except that of *party*, distinguished the doctor among other juniors in our university for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the doctor

* Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when Queen Anne died.

was then in too good a situation at his college to hope or endeavour at a better establishment from one, who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present Lord-Lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his Excellency by a *friend* † among other clergy of distinction, as persons whose characters it was proper his Excellency should know; and by the truth of which the *giver* would be content to stand or fall in his Excellency's opinion; since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the *gentleman* who gave in their names. By this, and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late Archbishop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his Excellency, whose fatal turn of mind towards *heathenish* and *outlandish* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like disposition in the doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestic, as we are told he is, at the castle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago the doctor grown weary of an academic life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society (which it may not be for their honour to mention) resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds. And a small northern living, in the university's donation, of somewhat better than one hundred pounds a year falling at the same time with the chancellorship of Christ-church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his Excellency; the doctor ventured into the world in a very scanty condition; having squandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to discover either on the exchange, or at a banker's shop.

About two months ago, his Excellency gave the doctor a prebend in St Patrick's cathedral; which being of near the same value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he shall have paid the great incumbrances upon it; so that he may now be said to possess of church-preferments in scattered tythes

† The author.

three hundred pounds a year; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed; beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But since the doctor hath not in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either *whig* or *tory*: and that the Lord Lieutenant still continues to admit him; I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: but, like a new *free-mason*, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any *tory* doctrines; except perhaps some among those few, with which that *wicked party* was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred for the most *solid reasons*, to the *whole body* of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and upon the strictest examination have not been able to find above one of that order, against whom any *party* suspicion can lie; I mean the unfortunate gentleman doctor Sheridan, who by meer chance-medley shot his own fortune dead with a single text.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one person of the *tory* stamp, who since the beginning of his Excellency's government did ever receive any solid mark of his favour: I mean Sir Arthur Acheson, reported to be an acknowledged *tory*; and, what is almost as bad, a *scholar* into the bargain. It is whispered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack * upon his estate within two miles of his own house; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of sixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expence of about five hundred pounds to put the house in repair, build stables, and other necessaries. I will place this *invidious* mark of beneficence conferred on a *tory* in a fair light, by computing the costs and necessary defalcations: after which it may be seen how much Sir Arthur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithstanding his

* See a poem upon this incident, intitled, *The grand question debated*, etc. vol. 6, p. 331.

unfortunate principles, and his knowlege in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, etc. 300 <i>l</i> . the interest whereof <i>per ann.</i>	30 0 0
For all manner of poultry to furnish the troop- ers, but which the said troopers must be at the labour of catching, valued <i>per ann.</i>	5 0 0
For straggling sheep	8 0 0
For game destroyed five miles round	6 0 0
	49 0 0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur	60 0 0
Deduct	49 0 0
	11 0 0

Thus if Sir Arthur Acheson shall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive *net* profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds *sterling* to help him in entertaining the officers, and making provisions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the loss of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of *good protestants*, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country. But I am not so skilful in arithmetic, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal interest for the money that Sir Arthur must expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a *saver* at least; which is a *prodigious instance of moderation* in our friends towards a professed *tory*; whatever merit he may pretend, by the unwillingness he hath shewn to make his excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have, with the utmost impartiality, collected every single favour (further than personal civilities) conferred by his excellency on *tories*, and reputed *tories*, since his first arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in
the

THE LORD CARTERET. 195

the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other side of the question: and the account will stand thus:

Disposed of preferments and employments to *tories*, or reputed *tories*, by his excellency John Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in about the space of six years:

To doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory } near Kinsale <i>per annum</i> - - -	100 0 0
To Sir Arthur Acheson, baronet, a barrack, } <i>per ann.</i> - - - - -	11 0 0
	111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his excellency to the *true friends* of their king and country, and of the *protestant religion*.

It is to be remembered, that, although his excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue, and some others; yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from England by their interest at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the *only* considerable station conferred on a *tory* since his present excellency's government was of this *latter* kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable) *real tories* can often with much less difficulty obtain very high favours from the government, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

WHIG account.

To persons promoted to bishoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, com- puted <i>per ann.</i> - - -	}	10,050 0 0
To civil employments - - -		
To military commands - - -		
		9030 0 0
		8436 0 0
		27,516 0 0

TORY account.

To <i>tories</i> - - - - -	111 0 0
Ballance - - - - -	27,405 0 0

I shall conclude with this observation, that, as I think, the *tories* have sufficient reason to be *fully satisfied* with the share of *trust, power, and employments*, which they possess under the *lenity* of the present government; so, I do not find how his excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but *high-church, high-flyers, termagants, Laudists, Sacheverellians, tip-top-gallant-men, jacobites, tantivy's, anti-hanoverians, friends to popery and the pretender and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of TRUE protestants, laurel-men, Annists, complainers of the nation's poverty, Ormondians, iconoclasts, anti-glorious-memorists, anti-revolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians, and the like*, when by a fair state of the account the ballance, I conceive, *seems to lie on the other side.*

CONSIDERATIONS

CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS sent down
from the right honourable the house of
LORDS to the honourable the house of COM-
MONS in IRELAND, relating to the CLER-
GY *.

Written in the year 1731.

I Have often for above a month past desired some few clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the *house of lords*: but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one single *prelate* of the kingdom; and am a stranger to their *characters*, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be supposed to act upon a principle of resentment. I esteem their functions (if I may be allowed to say so without offence) as truly *apostolical*, and absolutely necessary to the perfection of a *christian church*.

* In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the house of lords, by a great majority of the right reverend the bishops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and passed by the lords in parliament. It was afterwards sent to the house of commons for their approbation; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following considerations, who hath always been the best friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be seen by many parts of his writings, opposed this pernicious project with great success; which, if it had passed into a law, would have been of the worst consequence to this nation.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or insensibility for other men's sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state, when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reasons, but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable race of beggarly farmers; at whose mercy every *minister* lies to be defrauded. His office as *rector* or *vicar*, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As soon as he is promoted to a *bishopric*, the scene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as surely paid as those of the *king*; his whole business is once a year to receive the attendance, the submission, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself. Neither is his personal presence necessary, for the business may be done by a *vicar-general*. The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and as matters have been for some time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gift; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their *vicars-general*, *secretaries*, *proctors*, *apparitors*, *seneschals*, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their subjects, it would be reasonable at least to hope that the labour, confinement, and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, *like a bird out of the snare of the fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression and hard treatment of *colonels* towards their *officers*; yet in a very
few

few minutes after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the *Mall*, he confessed that the spirit of colonelship was coming fast upon him, which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to *bishoprics*, have always some great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion were known by their plain *christian* names among their old companions, the middling rate of *clergymen*; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I confess, I do not remember to have observed any body of men acting with so little concert, as our *clergy* have done in a point, where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church in their spiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, that some who appeared at first with the greatest zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings: yet we know, what expert *solicitors* the *quakers*, the *dissenters*, and even the *papists* have sometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced by the bishops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their brethren, were refused to be heard by the council. It seems, these bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in England, and the *house of lords* hath with great expedition passed them both; and it is said, they are immediately to be sent down to the *commons* for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

By one of the bills, the bishops have power to oblige

the country clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their lordships shall command; and if the living be above 50*l.* a year, the minister is bound to build after three years a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman with a wife and seven children gets a living of 55*l. per annum*, he must after three years build a house that shall cost 77*l.* 10*s.* and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50*l.* a year, the minister shall be allowed 100*l.* out of the first fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector, or vicar may be obliged by the caprice, or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration (an office, which ever falls into the most knavish hands) upon whatever point his *lordship* shall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the present distresses of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle must increase for ever) there are not ten country clergymen in Ireland, reputed to possess a parish of 100*l. per annum*, who for some years past have actually received 60*l.* and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loss, what kind of valuers the *bishops* will make use of; and whether the starving *vicar* shall be forced to build his house with the money he never received.

The other bill, which passed in two days after the former, is said to concern the division of parishes into as many parcels as the *bishop* shall think fit, only leaving 300*l.* a year to the *mother* church; which 300*l.* by another *act* passed some years ago they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their will and pleasure will dispose them. So, that instead of six hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the usual computation, we may have in a small compass of years almost as many thousands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hospitality.

But

But it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those, who have the least regard to our holy religion as hitherto established, or to a learned, pious, diligent conversable *clergyman*, or even to common humanity, that the *honourable house of commons* will, in their great wisdom, justice and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said, they well know this kingdom not to be so over-stocked with neighbouring gentry, but a discreet learned *clergyman*, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary companion. That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate parts, there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with *commissions of the peace*, which several of the *clergy* now supply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the son of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *taylor*, or *mill*, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this scheme can find no profit, but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare *gownman*, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest time for fear of losing a single sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving: for, according to the Scotch proverb, *a hungry louse bites sore*. This would of necessity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched *pastor* at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living, is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The honourable house may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my *lords* the *bishops* enjoy as ample a power both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office ; that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of those clergymen, over whom they preside ; that, if non-residence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or caused the plurality. That, if the general impartial character of persons chosen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of *party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill-judgment, or personal favour* regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of misconduct ; not to mention *ignorance and stupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the *gown*, whose aukward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and ungainly strut in their walk, without one single talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of *flattery* and *cringing* : for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified : and whom, if I were in power, although they were my *nephews*, or had married my *nieces*, I could never in point of good conscience or honour have recommended to a *curacy* in Connaught.

The *honourable house of commons* may likewise perhaps consider that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being less capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad ; and, that most of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwise than by the church, in which there might be some hopes of getting a tolerable maintainance. For after the patrons should have settled their *sons*, their *nephews*, their *nieces*, their *dependents*, and their *followers* invited over from the other side, there would still remain an overplus of smaller church preferments to be given to such clergy of the nation, who shall have their *quantum* of whatever merit may be then in fashion. But by these bills they will be all as absolutely excluded, as if they had passed under the denomination of *tories* ; unless they can be contented at the utmost with 50 *l.* a year ; which by the difficulties

difficulties of collecting tythes in Ireland, and the daily increasing miseries of the people, will hardly rise to half that sum.

It is observed, that the *divines* sent over hither to govern this church have not seemed to consider the difference between both kingdoms with respect to the inferior *clergy*. As to themselves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which consequently must be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public distress so little affects their interests, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themselves to suppose, that whatever a parish is said to be worth, comes all into the *parson's* pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England hath been the continual complaint of all men, who wish well to the church, and many schemes have been thought on to redress it; yet an English *vicar* of 40*l.* a year lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers, generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church, of ancient standing, filled every *Lord's day* with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in God and CHRIST. He hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than *goody*. He is sometimes graciously invited by the 'squire, where he sits at an humble distance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents: he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry *servitor* can be expected to bring with him from his *college*. It would be tedious to shew the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, the *honourable house of commons* may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly *clergymen* through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for choosing

choosing parliament men (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40s. *per annum, ultra repisas*) may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; being entirely under the dependence of their *bishops*. For by a moderate computation after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my lords the *bishops* have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of *ecclesiastical militants* able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches; wherein these probationers may read their *wall lectures*; and begin to doubt they must be contented with *barns*; which *barns* will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our *true protestant brethren, the dissenters*.

The scheme of encouraging *clergymen* to build houses by dividing a living of 500l. a year into ten parts is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued, that *bishops* build no houses, because they are so rich; and therefore the inferior *clergy* will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality in England, who could never be persuaded to keep a *servant* out of *livery*; because such servants would be expensive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to submit to the basest offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increase his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wise men, that before these bills pass both houses, they should be sent back to England with the following clauses inserted.

First, that whereas there may be about a dozen double *bishopricks* in Ireland, those *bishopricks* should be split and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts, as occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a question started, whether twenty-two *prelates* can effectually extend their paternal care, and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of so great a number of spiritual subjects. But this proposal will meet with such furious objections, that I shall not insist upon it: for I well remember

member to have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* were in upon a report, that the *sun* was going to marry.

Another clause should be, that none of these twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be suffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared *null*, and their children bastards: for some desponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging so numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clause will be necessary, that these humble gentry should be absolutely disqualified from giving votes in *elections* for *parliament men*.

Others add a fourth; which is a clause of indulgence, that these reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their spiritual offices: (for, unless I misapprehend, they are supposed to have *episcopal ordination*.) For example; they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor; they may let blood, or apply plaisters for three miles round: they may get a dispensation to hold the *clerkship* and *sextonship* of their own parish in *commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make shirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *soldiers*: in linen countries they may *card* and *spin*, and keep a few looms in the house: they may let lodgings, and sell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unless to sober company, and at regular hours. It is by some thought a little hard, that in an affair of the last consequence to the very being of the *clergy* in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the established instructors of the nation in christianity and moral virtues, and are the only persons concerned, should be the sole persons not consulted. Let any scholar shew the like precedent in Christendom for twelve hundred years past. An act of parliament for settling or selling an estate in a private family is never passed, until all parties give consent. But in the present case the whole body of the *clergy* is, as themselves apprehend, determined to utter ruin without once expecting or asking their opinion; and this by a scheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part, which hath been chosen in the usual forms, wants only the regal permission to

to assemble, and consult about the affairs of the church, as their predecessors have always done in former ages: where it is presumed, the *lower house* hath a power of proposing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (say these objectors) that there should be a real separate interest between the bishops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It seems there is a provision in the bill, that no parish shall be cut into scraps without the consent of several persons, who can be no sufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the *clergy* lay much weight on this caution; because they argue, that the very persons from whom these bills took their rise, will have the greatest share in the decision.

I do not by any means conceive the crying sin of the *clergy* in this kingdom to be that of *non-residence*. I am sure, it is many degrees less so here than in England; unless the possession of pluralities may pass under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed: I believe, upon a fair enquiry (and I hear an enquiry is to be made) they will appear to be most pardonably few; especially, considering how many parishes have not an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reasonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my *lords the bishops* will be soon able to convince the *clergy*, or those who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *lordships* minds by procuring these bills was to prevent the sin of *non-residence*; while the universal opinion of almost every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without distinction of party, taking in even those who are not likely to be sufferers, stands directly against them.

If some livings in the *north* may be justly thought too large a compass of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remotest inhabitants to attend the service of the church, which in some instances may be true; no reasonable *clergyman* would oppose a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus for instance the *deanry* of Down, a country *deanry* I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of parishes joined together in a time, when the

the land lay waste and thinly inhabited; since those circumstances are so prodigiously changed for the better, may properly be lessened, leaving a decent competency to the *dean*, and placing *rectories* in the remaining churches, which are now served only by stipendiary *curates*.

The case may be probably the same in other parts: and such a proceeding discreetly managed would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be observed, that the dean and chapter lands, which in England were all seized under the fanatic usurpation, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long ravished from the church by a succession of confiscations, and tythes applied in their stead to support that ecclesiastical dignity.

The late * *archbishop* of Dublin had a very different way of encouraging the *clergy* of his diocese to residence: when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent; and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almost every *bishop* in the kingdom may do the same generous act with less damage to their sees, than his late *grace* of Dublin; much of whose lands were out in fee-farms, or leases for lives; and I am sorry that the good example of such a *prelate* hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the *clergy's* friends cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this project; which they call a *levelling principle*, that must inevitably root out the seeds of all honest emulation, the legal parent of the greatest virtue and most generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itself in the breast of any *clergyman*, whom this kingdom shall produce.

* The right reverend Dr WILLIAM KING.

But,

But, whether the consequences of these bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future *bishops* sent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the *former* out of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to assert; that from the earliest ages of christianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of such a proceeding, much less was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from such hands in any christian country; and so it may pass for more than a *phœnix*; because it hath risen without any assistance from the *ashes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of so many *dissenters* at the hearing of this cause is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; because that action hath been censured as a mark of *triumph* and insult before the *victory* is complete: since neither of these bills hath yet passed the *house of commons*, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may be * rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or sub-divided tythes towards encreasing the stipends of the *sectaries*. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who after having been kicked down stairs took comfort, when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections against several particulars of both these bills; but they are of so high a nature, and carry such dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, resolving to give no offence, because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of those, who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the score of *disaffection*; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my *detractors*.

Dublin, Feb. 24th,

1731-2.

* They were rejected in the *house of commons* by a great majority. *Hawkes*.

A PROPOSAL for an ACT of PARLIAMENT, to pay off the DEBT of the nation, without taxing the subject; by which the number of landed gentry will be considerably increased, and no person will be the poorer, or contribute one farthing to the charge †.

Written in the year 1732.

THE debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay *absentees*, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a *poll* or *land tax* would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an Irish tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *land tax* upon a racked estate would be a burthen wholly insupportable.

The question will then be, how these national debts can be paid; and how I can make good the several particulars of my proposal; which I shall now lay open to the public.

The revenues of their graces and lordships the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800*l.* per ann. I mean the rents, which the bishops receive from

† The reader will perceive the following treatise to be altogether ironical.

their

210 A PROPOSAL FOR PAYING

their tenants. But the real value of those lands at a full rent, taking the several fees one with another, is reckoned to be at least three fourths more ; so that, multiplying 36,800*l.* by 4, the full rent of all the bishops lands will amount to 147,200*l. per ann.* from which subtracting the present rent received by their lordships, that is 36,800*l.* the profits of the lands received by the first and second tenants, (who both have great bargains) will rise to the sum of 110,400*l. per ann.* : which lands, if they were to be sold at twenty two-years purchase, would raise a sum of 2,428,800*l.* reserving to the bishops their present rents, only excluding fines.

Of this sum I propose that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400*l.* so much be applied, as will entirely discharge the debts of the nation ; and the remainder be laid up in the treasury to supply contingencies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom shall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the present set of bishops would be great losers by this scheme for want of their fines ; which would be hard treatment to such *religious, loyal, and deserving* personages ; I have therefore set apart the other half to supply that defect, which it will more than sufficiently do.

A bishop's lease for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchase ; but if we take the bishops round, I suppose there may be four years of each lease elapsed ; and many of the bishops being well stricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than seven years purchase ; so that the purchasers may very well afford fifteen years purchase for the reversion, especially by one great additional advantage, which I shall soon mention.

This sum of 2,428,800*l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably ; because the lands are to be sold only at fifteen years purchase, and this lessens the sum to about 1,656,000*l.* of which I propose twelve hundred thousand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigences ; and the remaining 456,000*l.* I propose as a fund for paying the present set of bishops their fines ; which it will abundantly

bundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public stock.

Although the bishops round do not in reality receive three fines a-piece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it to be so; but then I will suppose them to take but one year's rent in recompence of giving them so large a term of life; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400*l.* so that above three fourths will remain to be applied to public use.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excused as a stranger to the kingdom; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my days; but I took care to get the best informations I could, and from the most proper persons; however the mistakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my proposal; although they should cause a difference of one hundred thousand pounds more or less.

These fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same fee: if he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant fee lands are to come immediately into possession of the fee he hath left; and both the bishop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other fee will find candidates enough. For the law maxim will here have place: *caveat emptor*; I mean, the persons who succeed may chuse whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchasers, they will probably be tenants to the fee, who are already in possession, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myself. If a person already a bishop be removed into a richer fee, he must be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and so must he who comes into a bishopric vacant by death: and this will bring the matter sooner to bear; which, if the crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present set of bishops; and consequently encourage purchasers of their lands. For example: if a primate should die, and the gradation be wisely made, almost the whole set of bishops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got; and
thereby

thereby save a great part of that sum, which I have appropriated towards supplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the bishops lands two years purchase above the usual computed rate, because those lands will have a sanction from the king and council in England, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: besides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worse lands, at the remotest distances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occasioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it, but in buying of land; which consequently makes the owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the sale of these lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will considerably increase the number of gentry, where the bishops tenants are not able or willing to purchase; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: several persons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years purchase at home under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs; by which means much money may be brought among us; and probably some of the purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of *non-solvencies* in absence, if they let their lands too high.

This proposal will also multiply farmers, when the purchasers will have lands in their own power to give long and easy leases to industrious husbandmen.

I have allowed some bishoprics, of equal income, to be of more or less value to the purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For instance, the lands of the primacy and some other sees are let so low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the bishop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the sees of Meath and Clonsfert consisting, as I am told, much of tythes, those tythes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the see of Dublin is said to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and some leases
for

for lives, which pay very little, and not so soon nor so duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the archbishops, and my lords the bishops, will heartily join in this proposal out of gratitude to his late and present majesty, the best of kings, who have bestowed on them such high and opulent stations; as well as in pity to this country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the nation's debts without impoverishing themselves; enrich an hundred gentlemen as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordships from considerable persons, whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than servile dependents upon churchmen however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to bishops, being some of them persons of quality and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of these very leases under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be subject both to rents and fines at the pleasure of their landlords. Then, the bulk of the tenants, especially the *dissenters*, who are our *true loyal* protestant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bishops should be owners of land at all, (wherein I beg to differ from them) being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their feet to be distributed to poor proselytes.

I will add one word more; that by such a wholesome law all the oppressions felt by under-tenants of church leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular; that, when heads of a bill (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall
be

be brought in for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in Dublin, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies nearest his palace, as a demesne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well, that this scheme hath been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots: neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom; yet since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people, among whom I have been so well received. And if I can be any way instrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law (which being not in the least injurious to England will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

An

[215]

AN EXAMINATION of certain ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, and ENORMITIES, in the city of DUBLIN.

Written in the year 1732.

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police*: by which word is meant the government thereof; to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government our famous city of Dublin is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*abst Invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions spread almost through every part of Dublin; and proposing such remedies, as I hope the legislature will approve of.

The narrow compass, to which I have confined myself in this paper, will allow me only to touch the most important defects; and such as I think seem to require the most speedy redress.

And first; perhaps there was never known a wiser institution, than that of allowing certain persons of both sexes in large and populous cities to cry through the streets many necessaries of life: it would be endless to recount the conveniencies, which our city enjoys by this useful invention; and particularly strangers forced hither
by

by business, who reside here but a short time : for these, having usually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an easy price purchase a tolerable dinner, if the several criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to sell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far as to make those traders pronounce their words in such terms, that a plain christian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would advise all new comers to look out at their garret windows, and there see whether the thing that is cried be *tripes*, or *summers*, *butter-milk*, or *cow-beels*. For as things are now managed, how is it possible for an honest countryman just arrived to find out what is meant, for instance, by the following words, with which his ears are constantly stunned twice a day, *muggs*, *juggs*, and *porringers*, *up in the garret*, and *down in the cellar* ; I say, how is it possible for any stranger to understand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his curiosity draws him to the window, or until his landlady shall inform him ? I produce this only as one instance among a hundred much worse, I mean, where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which give so much disturbance, and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of *berrings* is directly against all truth and probability ; *berrings alive*, *alive here* ; the very proverb will convince us of this ; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech, than to say of some neighbour for whom the passing-bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*. And pray how is it possible, that a *herring*, which, as *philosophers* observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be tossed into twenty hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours ? nay, we have witnesses ready to produce, that many thousands of these *berrings*, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious wretches, who dare in the face of the sun vouch the very same affirmative of their *salmon*, and cry *salmon alive*, *alive* ; whereas, if
you

you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle, and shew you this individual *salmon* cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling, without the least appearance of remorse, and fully against the conviction of their own consciences; I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish ministers; but all in vain; so that it must continue, until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another *cry*, which, from the strictest observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *sweet hearts*; and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female sex; as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers, that the women instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase *sweet hearts*. Neither am I sure, that this *cry* doth not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating, that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in England, the ladies are forced to take up with *parsons* and *attornies*: but this is a most unjust reflection, as may soon be proved by any person who frequents the *castle*, our public walks, our balls and assemblies; where the crowds of † *toupees* were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a *cry* peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been used in London; or at least, not in the same terms that it hath been practised by both parties, during each of their power, but very unjustly by the *tories*. While these were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baskets on their shoulders to call aloud at every house, *dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify, that the kingdom could never be *cleansed*, until we were *swept* from the earth like *rubbish*. But

* A sort of sugar cakes in the shape of hearts.

† A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in fashion, Dec. 1, 1733.

since that happy turn of times, when we were so *miraculously* preserved by just an *inch* from *popery*, *slavery*, *massacre*, and the *pretender*, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same *cry*; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dung-hills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: every person, who walks the streets, must needs observe an immense number of human excrements at the doors and steps of waste houses, and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party hath assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by British *fundaments* to make the world believe, that our Irish vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently that the clamour of poverty among us must be false, proceeding only from *Jacobites* and *papists*. They would confirm this by pretending to observe, that a British *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements, upon a strict view, appearing cottle-crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with less continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent physician, who is well versed in such profound speculations; and at my request was pleased to make trial with each of his fingers, by thrusting them into the *anus* of several persons of both nations, and professed he could find no such difference between them as those ill-disposed people alledge. On the contrary, he assured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to shew how ready the *Jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to express their malice against the government. I had almost forgot to add, that my friend the physician could, by smelling each finger, distinguish the Hibernian excrement from the British, and was not above twice mistaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned dissertation.

There is a diversion in this city, which usually begins among the *butchers*; but is often continued by a succession of other people through many streets; it is called the COSSING

COSSING of a dog : and I may justly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus : a strange dog happens to pass through a flesh-market ; whereupon an expert *butcher* immediately cries in a loud voice and the proper tone, *cofs, cofs*, several times. The same word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly understands the terms of art, and consequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people and even his own *brother animals* pursue : the pursuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile ; he is well worried in his flight ; and sometimes hardly escapes. This our ill wishers of the *Jacobite* kind are pleased to call a *persecution* ; and affirm, that it always falls upon *dogs* of the *tory* principle. But we can well defend ourselves by justly alledging, that, when they were uppermost, they treated our *dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended these *processions*, although I can very well distinguish between a *whig* and *tory dog*, yet I never carried my resentment very far from a *party principle*, except it were against certain malicious *dogs*, who most discovered their enmity against us in the *worst of times* *. And I remember too well, that in the wicked ministry of the Earl of Oxford a large mastiff of our party, being unmercifully *coffed*, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up Fishamble-street ; and, as I am of low stature with very short legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards : and although I made use of his tail for a bridle, holding it fast with both my hands, and clung my legs as close to his sides as I could ; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel ; where after rowling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amidst the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious *Jacobites*. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other *services* and *sufferings* † I have been since more than over-paid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diversion of *coffing*, which I confess myself an e-

* A cant word used by the Whigs for the four last years of queen Anne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's ministry.

† See the apology for the Tale of a Tub, vol. I.

enemy to, unless we could always be sure of distinguishing *tory dogs*; whereof great numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now justly esteemed the best *worriers* of their former friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the chimney-sweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by *our enemies* to sculk in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual hours when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any *loyal* member, they call *coach, coach*, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instant when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days, when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus by the absence of a few members for a few minutes a question may be carried against the *true interest* of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the *pretender*.

I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses, where *punch* is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of *punch*, the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black *lion*, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single *eagle*, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a *crow*, a *swan*, a *bear*, or a *cock*, in the same posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of these animals either separate or in conjunction are, properly speaking, fit emblems or embellishments to advance the sale of *punch*. Besides it is agreed among *naturalists*, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor, except where he hath been used to it from his infancy; and consequently it is against all the rules of *hieroglyph* to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of *punch*. For in that case we ought to suppose, that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which however to my knowledge

knowledge is not true in fact; not one of those birds being a proper companion for a *christian*, as to aiding and assisting in making the *punch*. For as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mute, or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the *bear*, he is too terrible, aukward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; neither are any of them all *handy* enough to fill liquor to the company; I do therefore vehemently suspect a *plot* intended against the government by these devices. For although the *spread-eagle* be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful *protestant* sign, yet I, who am very suspicious of fair outsides in a matter, which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the *pretender's* wife is said to be of German birth: and that many *popish* princes in so vast an extent of land are reported to excel both at making and drinking *punch*: besides it is plain, that the *spread-eagle* exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *cross*; which is a badge of *popery*. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to represent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *swan*, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the Indies to himself. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect *Jacobitism*, and a manifest type of those who *blacken* the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish, whether that other fowl painted over the *punch-bowl* be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of *christians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the *Jacobites* in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion; the least offensive picture in the whole set seems to be the *bear*; because he represents *ursa major*, or the *great bear*, who presides over the *north*, where the *reformation* first began; and

which, next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the *true protestant* religion. But however in those signs, where I observe the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help surmising a *Jacobite* contrivance; by which these traytors hint an earnest desire of using all *true whigs*, as their predecessors did the primitive christians; I mean, to represent us as *bears*, and then halloo their *tory-dogs* to beat us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses, that invite us to *punch*. I own it was a matter, that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish, I may be found a false prophet. For these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these *popish Jacobites*, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is easier, than to prove it a disaffected liquor; the chief ingredients, which are, *brandy, oranges and lemons*, are all sent us from *popish* countries; and nothing remains of *protestant* growth, but *sugar and water*. For as to biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary ingredient, and is truly British, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my assertion past all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example, and dangerous consequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original institution of making *punch* left us by captain Ratcliff, the sharpness is only occasioned by the juice of *lemons*; and so continued until after the happy *revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a meer innovation, and in a manner *but of yesterday*. It was the politics of *Jacobites* to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? The thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to shew their virulence against his sacred majesty king William of ever glorious and immortal memory. But of late (to shew how fast disloyalty encreaseth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay at present we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one single *lemon*. For the *Jacobites* before

fore the death of that immortal prince had, by a superstition, formed a private prayer, that as they squeezed the orange, so might that protestant king be squeezed to death; according to the known *forcery* described by Virgil;

Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquefcit, etc.

And, thus the Romans, when they sacrificed an ox, used this kind of prayer; as I knock down this ox, so may'st thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies. In like manner after king William's death, whenever a Jacobite squeezed an orange, he had a mental curse upon the glorious memory, and a hearty wish for power to squeeze all his majesty's friends to death, as he squeezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of Orange. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confessed it to me under an oath of secrecy, which however I thought it my duty not to keep, when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an impious set of men, who never scruple to drink confusion to all true protestants under the name of whig? A most unchristian and inhuman practice; which to our great honour and comfort was never charged upon us, even by our most malicious detractors.

The sign of two angels hovering in the air, and with their right hand supporting a crown, is met with in several parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reasons to suspect the latter) those angels are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical countenances, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the Jacobite, being a most infamous reflection upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now return to that great enormity of city cries; most of which we have borrowed from London. I shall consider them only in a political view, as they nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in popery, slavery, and arbitrary power by defeating the protestant succession, and introducing the pretender, ought in justice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy revolution

all persons, who possessed any employment or office, in church or state, were obliged by an act of parliament to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary : and a great number of disaffected persons refusing to take the said oaths from a pretended scruple of conscience, but really from a spirit of *popery* and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the swearing to those princes odious in the eyes of the people: To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud shrill voices, under pretence of selling fish, to go through the streets with sieves on their heads, and cry, *buy my soul, buy my soul*; plainly insinuating, that all those, who swore to king William, were just ready to sell their *souls* for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen Anne, and, I hear, still continues in London with much offence to all *true protestants*; but to our great happiness seems to be almost dropt in Dublin.

But because I altogether condemn the displeasure and resentment of *high-flyers, tories, and Jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worse even than professed papists*, I do here declare, that those evils which I am going to mention, were all brought in upon us in the *worst of times* under the late Earl of Oxford's administration, during the four last years of queen Anne's reign. *That wicked minister was universally known to be a papist in his heart.*

* *He was of a most avaritious nature, and is said to have died worth four millions sterl. besides his vast expence in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of a mean obscure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead: and therefore I shall observe this wise maxim; de mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are never without) to adapt several London cries in such a manner as would best answer his ends.

* The author's meaning is just contrary to the literal sense in the character of Lord Oxford. *Hawkes.*

And,

And, whereas it was upon good grounds grievously suspected, that all *places* at court were sold to the highest bidder; certain women were employed by his emissaries to carry *fish* in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, *buy my fresh places*. I must indeed own that other women used the same cry, who were innocent of this wicked design, and really sold fish of that denomination to get an honest livelihood; but the rest, who were in the *secret*, although they carried *fish* in their sieves or baskets to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the *free-masons*, which the purchasers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women, whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And, I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we observed many gentlemen finely drest about the court-end of the town, and as far as York-buildings, where the lord-treasurer Oxford dwelt, calling the woman who cried *buy my fresh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe, that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned, the duke of Savoy was reported, to have made certain overtures to the court of England for admitting his eldest son by the dutchess of Orleans's daughter to succeed to the crown, as next heir, upon the *pretender's* being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn *protestant*. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people disaffected to the then *illustrious*, but now *royal*, house of Hanover were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired by the *jacobite* leaders to cry through the whole town, *buy my Savoy's, dainty Savoy's, curious Savoy's*. But I cannot directly charge the late Earl of Oxford with this *conspiracy*, because he was not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is in my humble opinion a very offensive sound to every true *protestant*, who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and *jacobite* earl above mentioned, the *secret* pernicious design of those in power was to sell Flanders to France: the consequence of

which must have been the infallible ruin of the States-general, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that universal monarchy, they have so long aimed at; to which the British dominions must next after Holland have been compelled to submit, whereby the *protestant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after long consultation among the *jacobite* grandees with the Earl of Oxford at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex: and upon this occasion was first instituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country, which we now by corruption call Flanders, is in its true orthography spelt *flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old English books. I say, from hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever since stunned the ears of all London, made so many children fall into fits, and women miscarry; *come buy my fresh flaunders, curious flaunders, charming flaunders, alive, alive, ho*; which last words can with no propriety of speech be applied to fish manifestly dead, (as I observed before in *herrings* and *salmon*) but very justly to ten provinces containing many millions of living *christians*. But the application is still closer, when we consider that all the people were to be taken like *fishes* in a net; and by assistance of the *pope*, who sets up to be the *universal fisher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expression, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember, myself, a particular crier of *flounders* in London, who arrived at so much fame for the loudness of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath disturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in those days so fully apprized of the designs, which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a secret impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a strong dislike against the fellow; and often said to myself,

This

This cry seems to be forged in the Jesuits school: alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken, if there be not some popish plot at the bottom. I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my speculations: but it proved afterwards, that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thousand men of as strong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been, not only to these two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by selling Flanders to France. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in London and Dublin; although, I confess, not with equal vehemency or loudness; because the reason for contriving this desperate plot is to our great felicity wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the majority of the British house of commons in the last years of queen Anne's reign were in their hearts directly opposite to the Earl of Oxford's pernicious measures; which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politics. And accordingly his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation (as it was proved before justice * Peyton) to cry that vegetable commonly called *sellery* through the town. These women differ from the common criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of *sellery* brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not at this present the least occasion to suspect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politics; but is indeed of all others the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy establishment, I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, according to the best orthography, but absolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities, for it began soon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at so great a

* A famous whig justice in those times.

height, as curing the Earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myself to profess their disapprobation of this cry on pretence, that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureesses, who kept houses of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by some words in the cry; because, after the crier had bawled out, *turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups*, he would sometimes add the two following verses,

*Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
Turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.*

This, say some political sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdness; which indeed ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But, I hope, we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with such poor evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very time when those two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr Swan so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *jacobite* as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my presence by Sir Henry Dutton-Colt, and colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffee-house, on the 10th of June, 1701. Thus it appears to a demonstration, that those verses were only a blind to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who from the first years after the happy revolution used a cant-way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: *we hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another king TURN UP triumph*: and, *when shall we meet over a dish of TURNUPS*? The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their reasonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr Willes, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light; because the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word *TURNUP*; but whether out of ignorance or partiality I shall not decree; because I am sure the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed

served, that this cry was sung in a particular manner by fellows in disguise to give notice, where those traitors were to meet in order to concert their villainous designs.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble proposál, that those who cry this root at present in our streets of Dublin may be compelled by the justices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*: for, I am afraid, we have still too many snakes in our bosom, and it would be well if their cellars were sometimes searched, when the owners least expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus, we are zealous in matters of small moment, while we neglect those of the highest importance. I have already made it manifest, that all these cries were contrived in the *worst of times*, under the ministry of that desperate statesman Robert late Earl of Oxford; and for that very reason ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of *Jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the rags of *popery* and *treason*; or, if it be thought proper that these cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the hands of *true protestants*, who have given security to the government.

A LETTER

A LETTER from a member of the house of commons in Ireland, to a member of the house of commons in England, concerning the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1708 *.

S I R,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of the strange representations made of us on your side of the water. The instance you are pleased to mention is that of the *presbyterian missionary*, who, according to your phrase, hath been lately *persecuted* at Drogheda for his religion :

In the 1st volume of Dr. Swift's and Mr. Pope's Miscellanies, I found the following treatise, which had been printed in London, with some other of the Dean's works, many years before, but at first came out by itself in the year 1708, as the date shews: and it was at a juncture, when the dissenters were endeavouring to repeal the sacramental test, as, by common fame, and some pamphlets published to the same purpose, they seem to be now again attempting, with great hope of success. I have therefore taken the liberty to make an extract out of that discourse, omitting only some passages, which relate to certain persons, and are of no consequence to the argument. But the author's way of reasoning seems at present to have more weight, than it had in those times, when the discourse first appeared.—The author, in this letter, personates a member of parliament here, to a member of parliament in England.—The speaker mentioned in this letter, was Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor and lord Middleton; and the prelate was Dr Lindsay, afterwards Primate.

* This tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the attempt to repeal the sacramental test was revived. There was an explanatory advertisement prefixed, which is said by Lord Orrery to

religion: but it is easy to observe, how mighty industrious some people have been for three or four years past, to hand about stories of the hardships, the merits, the number, and the power of the *presbyterians* in Ireland, to raise formidable ideas of the dangers of *popery* there, and to transmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with special care to have them inserted with comments in those infamous weekly papers, that infest your coffee-houses. So, when the clause enacting a *sacramental test* was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the justices of peace through this kingdom had laid down their commissions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and those generally of the lowest rate in fortune and understanding, and some of them superannuated. So, when the Earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament sitting, a formal story was very gravely carried to his excellency by some zealous members, of a priest newly arrived from abroad to the north-west parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a murdering the protestants; which, though invented to serve an end they were then upon, and are still driving at, was presently handed over, and printed with shrewd remarks by your worthy scrib-

to have been dictated, or strictly revised by the Dean himself: but there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought sufficient to destroy its authenticity: that which in the first paragraph is called the *following treatise* is afterwards said to be an *extract of a discourse*, and it is immediately added, that this *extract* is the *whole*, except some passages of no consequence: these are included in a parenthesis. *Hawkes.*

Swift held the dissenters in the utmost degree of ridicule and detestation. He had an openness in his disposition, and a frankness in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reserve. — To such a disposition it is impossible that the gravity of nonconformists could be agreeable. The dislike was mutual on both sides. Dr Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr Swift. This piece is particularly written against *repealing the test act*: and whoever considers himself related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it some arguments of weight and consideration, in case any such repeal should ever be attempted there. *Orrery.*

blers.

blers. In like manner the account of that person, who was lately expelled our university for reflecting on the memory of king William; what a dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced till the university was at the pains of publishing a Latin paper to justify themselves. And, to mention no more, this story of the *persecution* at Drogheda, how it hath been spread and aggravated, what consequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now if the end of all this proceeding were a secret and mystery, I should not pretend to give it an interpretation; but sufficient care hath been taken to explain it, *first*, by addresses artificially (if not illegally) procured, to shew the miserable state of the *dis-senters* in Ireland by reason of the *sacramental test*, and to desire the queen's intercession, that it might be repealed. *Then*, it is manifest, that * our speaker, when he was last year in England, solicited in person several members of both houses to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot possibly interfere with the trade and interest of England; and though he himself appeared formerly the most zealous of all men against the injustice of binding a nation by laws, to which they do not consent. And *lastly*, those weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application against the *sacramental test*, and the absolute necessity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakness to say any thing of such trifles, as are below a serious man's notice; much less would I disparage the understanding of any party, to think they would chuse the vilest and most ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the assertors of a cause. I shall only say, that the scandalous liberty those wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that *some men* would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those papers are, they seem to be levelled to

* Mr Allen Broderick, afterwards chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Middleton.

the understandings of a great number; they are grown a necessary part in coffee-house furniture, and some time or other may happen to be read by customers of all ranks for curiosity and amusement, because they lie always in the way. One of these authors (the fellow that was pilloried, I have † forgot his name) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the † *observer* is much the brisker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in lyes and impudence than his *presbyterian* brother. [The reason why I mention him, is to have an occasion of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel case: last year a paper was brought here from England, called *A dialogue between the archbishop of Canterbury and Mr Higgins*, which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deserved, though we have no more to do with his grace § of Canterbury, than you have with the archbishop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly, and by name, by that poultry rascal of an *observer*; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the business of the *missionary* of Drogheda, wherein our excellent *primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the Lord Archbishop || of Dublin hath been upon several occasions, of late years, misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services he was by the late

† The fellow that was pilloried, was Daniel Defoe, whose name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumstance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it, shews great art in the nicest touches of satire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The scoffs and sarcasms of Swift, like the bite of the rattle-snake, distinguish themselves more venomously dangerous, than the wound of a common serpent. *Orrery*.

He was pilloried for a tract called *The shortest way with the dissenters*.

† Mr John Tutchin.

§ Dr Thomas Tenison.

|| Dr William King.

king

king promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the revolution, wherein was an account of king James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late Archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the king as the most serviceable treatise, that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the queen, entirely for the succession in the protestant line, and for ever excluding the *pretender*; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect, yet upon his removal to Dublin they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgements of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards: in short, in the practice of all virtues, that can become a public or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands as those of the *observer*, or such as employ him.]

I now come to answer the other part of your letter, and shall give you my opinion freely about repealing the *sacramental test*; only whereas you desire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both capacities.

I must begin by telling you, we are generally surprized at your wonderful kindness to us on this occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our interest in a point where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This hath given us some suspicion; and though in my own particular I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourselves in our affairs, it is certainly *for our good*, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in

in this belief, and therefore I never attempt to justify it, but content myself to possess my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words, than I have to spare.

We at this distance, who see nothing of the spring of actions, are forced by meer conjecture to assign two reasons for your desiring us to repeal the *sacramental test*; one is, because you are said to imagine it will be a step towards the like *good work* in England. The other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding *several persons*, who have well deserved upon a *great occasion*, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, especially English: but I remember there is in some of Mr Cowley's love verses a strain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often since imagined it to be spoken by Ireland,

*Forbid it, heaven, my life should be
Weigh'd with her least conveniency.*

In short, whatever advantage you propose to yourselves by repealing the *sacramental test*, speak it out plainly, it is the best argument you can use, for we value your interest much more than our own; if your little finger be sore, and you think a poultice made of our *vitals* will give it any ease, speak the word, and it shall be done: the interest of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to strike to that of your poorest *fishing towns*; it is hard you will not accept our services, unless we believe at the same time, that you are only consulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at some distance, and I immediately blow up my house before there be occasion, because you are a man of quality, and apprehend some danger to a *corner of your shiale*; yet why should you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourselves, we had abundance of benefit by the *sacramental test*, and foresee a number of mischiefs would be the consequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made against it by the *dissenters* are of no manner of force. They tell
us.

us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how chearfully they engaged for the safety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that for the future they shall sit down quietly, and let us do our work ourselves; nay, that it is necessary they should do so, since they cannot take up arms under the penalty of high-treason.

Now supposing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the * *fly on the wheel*, I thought *liberty, property, and religion*, had been the three subjects of the quarrel; and have not all these been amply secured to them; had they at that time a *mental reservation* for *power and employments*? and must these two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among some men, to melt down the phrase of a *church established by law*, into that of the *religion of the magistrate*; of which appellation it is easier to find the reason than the sense: if by the *magistrate* they mean the *prince*, [the expression includes a falshood; for when king James was *prince*] the established church was the same it is now. If by the same word they mean the legislature, we desire no more: Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one established by law, and are willing by the same law to give a *toleration* to dissenters; but if once we repeal our *sacramental test*, and grant a *toleration*, or suspend the execution of the penal-laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any established church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many established churches, as there are sects of dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the national church, because your bishops and clergy are maintained by the public: but, *that* I suppose will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjust it should, because, to speak in Tindal's phrase, it is not reasonable that revenues should be annexed to one opini-

* Alluding to the fable of a fly, who having settled on the spoke of a wheel belonging to a chariot, that was driven rapidly along the road, exulted in his own importance, and cried out, "*What a dust we raise!*"

on more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the same author's maxim, that no free-born subject ought to pay for maintaining speculations he does not believe. *But why should any man, upon account of opinions be cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of serving his queen and country!* their zeal is commendable, and when employments go a begging for want of hands, they shall be sure to have the refusal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon maxims, which equally include *Atheists, Turks, Jews, Infidels, and heretics*; or, which is still more dangerous, even *papists* themselves: the former you allow, the other you deny; because these last own a foreign power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can suit with free states, with limited or absolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the *pope's* power in France is but a shadow; so that upon this foot there need be no great danger to the constitution by admitting *papists* to employments. I will help you to enough of them shall be ready to allow the *pope* as little power here as you please; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Christ is but a *speculative point*, for which no man it seems ought to be deprived the capacity of serving his country.

But, if you please, I will tell you the great objection we have against repealing this same *sacramental test*. It is, that we are verily persuaded, the consequence will be an entire alteration of religion among us in no great compass of years. And pray, observe how we reason here in Ireland upon this matter.

We observe the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave industrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an *undisturbed* affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the soil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Loquabar by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Down and Antrim, so productive of that *grain*, which at little trouble and less expence finds diet and lodging for themselves and their cattle. These people, by their extreme parsimony, wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adherence to one-another, soon grow into wealth from the *smallest beginnings*, never are rooted out

out where they once fix, and increase daily by new supplies: besides, when they are the superior number in any tract of ground, they are not *over patient of mixture*; but such, whom they cannot *assimilate*, soon find it their interest to remove. I have done all in my power on some land of my own to preserve two or three English fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impossible, though one of them thought he had sufficiently made his court by turning presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a most formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at least three degrees worse than popery: and it is natural it should be so, since they come over full fraught with that spirit, which taught them to abolish episcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and observe, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very considerable number in the house of commons, and have no *other merit*, but that of doing their duty in their several stations; therefore when the test is repealed, it will be highly reasonable they should give place to those, who have much *greater services* to plead. The commissions of the revenue are soon disposed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout the kingdom are generally appointed by the commissioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be said of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let dissenters into the commissions of the peace, to make them high-sheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not see how it can be otherwise, considering their industry and our supineness, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the house of commons, and consequently make themselves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this should happen as I describe, yet the presbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, because our bishops are so great in number in the house of lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be abolished. But I have *two very good expedients* for that, which I shall leave you to guess, and I dare swear our speaker here has often thought on, especially having endeavour-
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ed at *one of them* so lately. To convince you, that this design is not so foreign from *some people's* thoughts, I must let you know, that an honest *bell-weather* * of our house (you have him now in England, I wish you could keep him there) had the impudence some years ago, in parliament-time, to shake my lord bishop of Kilaloe † by his lawn-sleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, *that he hoped to live to see the day, when there should not be one of his order in the kingdom.*

These last lines perhaps you think a digression; therefore, to return, I have told you the consequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the *sacramental test*, which although the greatest number of such as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three-pence whether there be any *church*, or no; yet because they pretend to argue from conscience as well as policy and interest, I thought it proper to understand and answer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in answer to your question, whether if any attempt should be made here for repealing the *sacramental test*, it would be likely to succeed? The number of professed dissenters in this parliament was, as I remember, something under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the presbyterian party having with great industry mustered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occasion of a hint in my lord ‡ Pembroke's speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the *test clause*, when there appeared at least four to one odds against them; and the ablest of those, who were reckoned the most stanch and thorough-paced *whigs* upon all other occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of *whig* and *tory* do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. [I remember, when I was last in England, I told the king; that the highest tories we had with us would make tolerable whigs there: this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have

* Supposed to be Mr Broderick.

† Dr Lindsay, afterwards lord primate.

‡ Then lord lieutenant of Ireland.

since admitted new characteristics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of King William, as our great deliverer from popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present queen with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an *indulgence* for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a *whig*: and I believe there are not six members in our house of commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up on one side of *moderate whigs*, and on the other of *presbyterians* and their *abettors*, by which last I mean such, who can equally go to a *church* or *conventicle*, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or lastly, such who affect to bear a personal rancour towards the clergy: these last are a set of men not of our own growth, their principles at least have been *imported* of late years; yet this whole party put together will scarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the house of lords, the difficulty there is conceived at least as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the bishops are generally pretty near a *par* of the house, and we reckon they will be all to a man against repealing the *test*; and yet their lordships are generally thought as good whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for episcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom *certain powerful motives* might be used for removing any difficulty whatsoever: but these are, in no sort, a number to carry any point against a conjunction of the rest and the whole bench of bishops.

Besides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly against repealing the *test*, though they are entirely devoted to her majesty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good *whigs* in our acceptation of the word. And I must let you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come

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up to *other folks refinements*, for we generally love and esteem our clergy, and think they deserve it; nay, we are apt to lay some weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly disoblige them, at least, unless it were upon some greater point of interest than this. And their judgment in the present affair is the more to be regarded, because they are the last persons, who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the interest of the kingdom. Because the act, which repeals the *test*, will only qualify a *layman* for an employment, but not a *presbyterian* or *anabaptist* preacher for a church-living. Now I must take leave to inform you, that several members of our house, and myself among the rest, knowing some time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any distinction, and desired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a most wonderful agreement, there being but *one divine* that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary sentiment, wherein he afterwards stood alone in the *convocation*, very little to his *credit*, though, as he hoped, very much to his *interest*.

I will now consider a little the arguments offered to shew the advantages, or rather the necessity of repealing the *test* in Ireland. We are told, the popish interest is here so formidable, that all hands should be joined to keep it under; that the only names of distinction among us ought to be those of *protestant* and *papist*; and that this expedient is the only means to *unite* all protestants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but misrepresentation and mistake.

If we were under any real fear of the papists in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us so stupid, as not to be equally apprehensive with *others*, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate sufferers: but on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more; and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them

are already turned protestants, and so in all probability will many more. Then, the popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors; so that the protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than *beavers of wood, and drawers of water*, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any considerable numbers with an *invader*, having found so ill success when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them*, had been trained for some years under a *popish deputy*, and received such mighty aids from the French king.

As to that argument used for repealing the *test*, that it will unite all protestants against the *common enemy*; I wonder by what figure those gentlemen speak, who are pleased to advance it: suppose, in order to encrease the friendship between you and me, a law should pass, that I must have half your estate: do you think that would much advance the union between us? or suppose I share my fortune equally between my own *children* and a *stranger*, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? it is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a *majority* of part of their ancient right, by conferring it on a *faction*, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any loss or injury, if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear, how far some people may stretch the term of *common enemy*. How many are there of those that call themselves protestants, who look upon our worship to be idolatrous as well as that of the papists, and with great charity put *prelacy* and *popery* together as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one small doubt I would be willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the *test*; that is, whether these same *protestants*, when they

* In the reign of king James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

have by their dexterity made themselves the national religion, and disposed the church revenues among their *pastors* or *themselves*, will be so kind to allow *us dissenters*, I do not say a share in employments, but a bare *toleration* by law? the reason of my doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets written by as many presbyterian divines, loudly disclaiming this idol *toleration*, some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *rag of popery*, and all agreeing it was to *establish iniquity by a law*. Now I would be glad to know, when and where *their successors* have renounced this doctrine, and before what witnesses. Because, methinks I should be loth to see my poor titular bishop *in partibus* seized on by mistake in the dark for a jesuit, or be forced myself to keep a chaplain disguised like my butler, and steal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather used in those times, when the church of England was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; popery is now the *common enemy*, against which we must all unite: I have been tired in history with the perpetual folly of those states, who call in foreigners to assist them against a *common enemy*: but the mischief was, these *allies* would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite subdued. And they had reason; for it proved at last, that one part of the common enemy was those who called them in, and so the *allies* became at length the *masters*.

It is agreed among naturalists, that a *lion* is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a *cat*; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a *lion* at his foot, bound fast with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry *cat* in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful significance of that word *persecution*, and what various interpretations it hath acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way; they said they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably ought

to have liberty of conscience, and leave to assemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they soon learned to swallow the *sacramental test*, and began to take very large steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them, were called men of a *persecuting spirit*. During the time the bill against occasional conformity was on foot, *persecution* was every day rung in our ears, and now at last the *sacramental test* itself has the same name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one request is only used as a step to demand another? a lover is ever complaining of *cruelty*, while any thing is denied him; and when the lady ceases to be *cruel*, she is from the next moment at his mercy: so *persecution*, it seems, is every thing, that will not leave it in mens power to *persecute others*.

There is one argument offered against a *sacramental test* by a sort of men, who are content to be stiled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its service in the morning, and go with their wives to a *conventicle* in the afternoon, confessing they hear very good doctrine in both. These men are much offended, that so holy an institution, as that of the Lord's supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary purposes as the getting of an employment. Now it seems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they receive the sacrament; and supposing all men to live like christians (especially those who are to have employments) did imagine they received the sacrament in course about four times a year; and therefore only desired it might appear by certificate to the public, that such, who took an office, were members of the church established, by doing their ordinary duty. However, *lest we should offend them*, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us: for if the matter stuck only there, we would propose it in parliament, that every man, who takes an employment, should, instead of receiving the sacrament, be obliged to swear, that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law established, with episcopacy, *and so forth*; and as they do now in Scotland, *to be true to the kirk*. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument, urge the hardship that men should be deprived the liberty of serving their queen
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and country on account of their conscience : and in short, have recourse to the common stile of their half-brethren. Now whether this be a sincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topic of clamour somewhat parallel to the foregoing : it seems by the test-clause, the *military* officers are obliged to receive the sacrament, as well as the *civil*. And it is a matter of some patience, to hear the dissenters declaiming upon this occasion : they cry they are *disarmed*, they are used like papists : when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they must sit still, and see their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treason if they offer to defend themselves. Miserable condition ! woful dilemma ! it is happy for us all, that the pretender was not apprised of this *passive presbyterian* principle, else he would have infallibly landed in our *northern* parts, and found them all sat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman senators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes to appease their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in such a case the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be so severe to hang them for defending it against the letter of the law ; to which they readily answer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourselves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which upon all *popish* insurrections at home, or *popish* invasions from abroad, the government shall be impowered to grant commissions to all protestants whatsoever, without that *persecuting* circumstance of obliging them to *say their prayers* when they receive the sacrament : but they abhor all thoughts of *occasional* commissions ; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit : it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis* ; and they had rather lose their estates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleasure of *governing*.

But to bring this discourse towards a conclusion : if the dissenters will be satisfied with such a *toleration* by law, as hath been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houses will fall readily in with it ; farther it will be hard to persuade this house of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to say the truth, we make a mighty difference here between suffering *this* files

to grow among us, and wearing them for *posies*. We are fully convinced in our consciences, that *we* shall always *tolerate them*; but not quite so fully that *they* will always *tolerate us*, when it comes to their turn; and *we* are the majority, and *we* are in possession.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obsolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the safer side, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foresee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the consequences of repealing this clause should at some time or other enable the presbyterians to work themselves up into the national church; instead of *uniting* protestants, it would sow eternal divisions among them. First, their own sects, which now lie dormant, would be soon at cuffs *again* with each other about power and preferment; and the *dissenting episcopals*, perhaps discontented to such a degree, as upon some *fair unhappy* occasion, would be able to shake the firmest loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from some late proceedings, at what a rate this *faction* is like to drive, where-ever it gets the *whip* and the *seat*. They have already set up courts of spiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they send *missionaries* every where, without being invited, in order to convert the *church of England* folks to *christianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend persons on their death-beds, and for purposes much alike. And what practices such principles as these (with many others that might be invidious to mention) may spawn, when they are *laid out to the sun*, you may determine at leisure.

Lastly, Whether we are so entirely sure of their loyalty upon the present foot of government as you may imagine, their detractors make a question, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of dissenters: but the instance produced is of some among their leading teachers in the north, who having refused the *abjuration oath*, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and I believe hath been published; I think it a pity, it hath not been *remedied*.

Thus

SACRAMENTAL TEST. 247

Thus I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houses here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may securely reckon. I will leave you to make what use of it you please.

I am with great respect,

Dublin, Dec. 4,
1708.

Sir,

Your, etc.

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Some

Some ARGUMENTS against enlarging the power of BISHOPS in letting of LEASES *.

Mibi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique vestrum in iisdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt. Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the year 1723.

IN handling this subject I shall proceed wholly upon the supposition, that those of *our party*, who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostical government of bishops, do desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity at least in as good a condition as it is at present: because, as this discourse is not calculated for dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiments of those persons, who with the denomination of churchmen are oppressors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered down from former times, and continued with great reason, although it be now near 200 years since almost three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, besides the spoils that have been gradually made ever since of glebes and other lands by the confusion of times, the fraud of encroaching neigh-

* This pamphlet is intermixed with those masterly strokes of irony, which are so often intermixed in Swift's works. The general subject of it leads me to recollect a circumstance much to the dean's honour; he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always chose to raise the rents, as the method least oppressive to the present tenant, and most advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He constantly refused to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alledged were scarce sufficient to maintain the necessary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrery.*

bours,

bours, or the power of oppressors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the reformation many *popish* bishops of this kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leases and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry, by a power they assumed directly contrary to many antient canons, yet consistent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the bishops became protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations. By these means episcopal revenues were so low reduced, that three or four fees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For some remedy to this evil king James the first by a bounty, that became a good christian prince, bestowed several forfeited lands on the *northern* bishoprics: but in all other parts of the kingdom the church continued still in the same distress and poverty; some of the fees hardly possessing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of king Charles the first's reign, the legislature here thought fit to put a stop at least to any farther alienations; and so a law was enacted, prohibiting all bishops and other ecclesiastical corporations from setting their lands for above the term of twenty one years; the rent reserved to be one half of the real value of such lands at the time they were set, without which condition the lease to be void.

Soon after the restoration of king Charles the second, the parliament taking into consideration the miserable estate of the church, certain lands by way of augmentation were granted to eight bishops in the act of settlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three fees were in a great measure defeated; but by what accidents it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at present is the condition of the church in Ireland with regard to episcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for some information to those, whose thoughts do not lead them to such considerations.

By virtue of the statute already mentioned, under king Charles the first, limiting ecclesiastical bodies to the term of twenty one years under the reserved rent of half real value, the bishops have had some share in the gradual rise of lands, without which they could not have been supported with any common decency that might become their station. It is above eighty years since the passing of that act: the see of Meath, one of the best in the kingdom, was then worth about 400*l. per annum*; the poorer ones in the same proportion. If this were their present condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their successors, if such a bill should pass, as they say is now intended, which I will suppose; and believe many persons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at least eluded; some are for giving bishops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leases for lives; and the most moderate would repeal that clause, by which the bishops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reasons for the rise of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the first kind, are long peace and settlement after the devastations of war; plantations, improvements of bad soil, recovery of bogs and marshes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increase of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reason for the rise of land, more gradual, constant and certain; which will have its effects in countries, that are very far from flourishing in any of the advantages I have just mentioned: I mean *the perpetual decrease in the value of gold and silver*. I shall discourse upon these two different kinds with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the first: I cannot see how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for 30 years past have been real dis-improvements; nine in ten of the quickset-hedges being ruined for want of care or skill. And as to forest trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in single rows on the tops of ditches, it is impossible they should grow

grow to be of use, beauty, or shelter. Neither can it be said, that the soil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while so much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almost desperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath indeed been some little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very short of perfection; but our trade was never in so low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wise nations have been so tender, the desolation made in the country by engrossing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable instances under what discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these mortifications, I suppose there is no well-wisher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in some of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God *sends rain equally upon the just and the unjust*, why should those, who wait at his altars, and are instructors of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age; I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is *the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver*.

This may be observed from the course of the Roman history above two thousand years before those inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi were known. The value of an *abolus* and of every other coin between the time of Romulus and that of Augustus, gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet, the prodigious wealth of that state did not arise from the encrease of bullion in the world by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cause, which was the spreading of their conquest, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy the riches of the *east* and *west*.

When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople,
the

the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning; and was scattered in Asia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the *northern* people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce, that vast sums of money were buried to escape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained was carried off by those ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the monkish and other writers since the conquest have put that matter in a clearer light, by the several accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that king John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thousand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewise seen the steward's accounts of an ancient noble family in England written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the several prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my observations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years past. Henry duke of Lancaster, who lived about that period, founded an hospital in Leicester for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In those times, a penny was equal to ten pence half-penny, and somewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain also from the old custom upon many estates in England to let for leases of lives, (renewable at pleasure) where the reserved rent is usually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three shillings in the pound of the worth of his land: and the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that, if the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a lease on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable rent, the other tenants by all manner of injuries will make that foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit

quit the farm; as the late Earl of Bath felt by the experience of above ten thousand pounds loss.

The gradual decrease for about two hundred years after was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the account given by some historians, that Harry the seventh left behind him eighteen hundred thousand pounds; for although the West-Indies were discovered before his death, and although he had the best talents and instruments for exacting of money ever possessed by any prince since the time of Vespasian (whom he resembled in many particulars) yet I conceive, that in his days the whole coin of England could hardly amount to such a sum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir — Cockain of Derbyshire, the best house-keeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each servant, and two pounds to the steward; as I was told by a person of quality who had seen the original account of his œconomy. Now this sum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at present, or somewhat more than four *fifts*.

The great plenty of silver in England began in queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vast quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards either upon their own American coasts, or in their return to Spain. However so much hath been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and most parts of Europe, is sunk above one half within the space of an hundred years, notwithstanding the great export of silver for about eighty years past to the East-Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the same accident, and by new discoveries growing every day more plentiful, seems in danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progress of the value of money in former ages, and must of necessity continue so for the future, without some new invasion of Goths and Vandals to destroy law, property and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upside down.

I must repeat, that what I am to say upon the subject is intended only for the conviction of those among our

own party, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it should continue in a tolerable degree of prosperity to the end of the world.

The church is supposed to last for ever both in its discipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who must likewise observe the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's estate, which now yields him a thousand pounds a year, had been set for ever at the highest value even in the flourishing days of king Charles the second, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reserved rent at this day be any more than a small chiefry? suppose the revenues of a bishop to have been under the same circumstances; could he now be able to perform works of hospitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a bishop be limited to a thousand pounds a year; how will his successor be in a condition to support his station with decency, when the same denomination of money shall not answer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that sum? Which must unavoidably be the consequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preserved from utter ruin.

The same reason holds good in all corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this day; although the leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and instead of limiting their rents to a certain sum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of so many barrels of corn to be valued as the market went at two seasons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinsic value, which gold and silver are not: and by this invention these colleges have preserved a tolerable subsistence for their fellows and students to this day.

The present bishops will indeed be no sufferers by such a bill; because, their ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great decrease in the value of money; or at worst

worst they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than usual upon the change of leases into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking such advantages (considering the nature of human kind) when the question is only, whether the money shall be put into their own or another man's pocket: so they will never be excusable before God or man, if they do not to their death oppose, declare, and protest against any such bill, as must in its consequences compleat the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private person be diminished by the weakness, or inadvertency of his ancestors, in letting leases for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his industry for purchasing of more; but the church is barred by a *dead hand*; or if it were otherwise, yet the custom of making bequests to it hath been out of practice for almost two hundred years, and a *great deal directly contrary* hath been its fortune.

I have been assured by a person of some consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the account of some other facts already related, that the late * bishop of Salisbury (the greatest *whig* of that bench in his days) confessed to him, that the liberty which bishops in England have of letting leases for lives would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two English prelates quitted their peerage and seats in parliament, in a *nation of freedom*, for the sake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which however they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed some persons, who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with bishops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for some

* Dr Burnet.

years past, gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their sons to the university, and from suffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languish under a curacy or small vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decrease in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and besides, when bishopricks here grow too small to invite over men of credit and consequence, they will be left more fully to the disposal of a chief governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench in an age or two be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble suppliants and dependents upon the *court* for a morsel of bread, and ready to serve every turn that shall be demanded from them, in hopes of getting some *commendam* tacked to their fees; which must then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great discouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years since the passing of that limiting act, and there is but one instance in the memory of man of a bishop's lease broken upon the plea of not being statutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been lost by no other person than he, who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the present * bishop of Meath's case that plea did not avail, although the lease were notoriously unstatutable; the rent reserved being, as I have been told, not a seventh part of the real value; yet the jury upon their oaths *very gravely* found it to be according to the statute; and one of them was heard to say, that he would *eat his shoes* before he would give a verdict for the bishop. A very few more have made the same attempt with as little success. Every bishop and other ecclesiastical body reckon forty pounds in an hundred to be a reasonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it seldom or never breeds any difference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts less than the worth, the bishop, if he consults the good of his fee, will be apt to expostulate; and the tenant, if he be an

* Dr Evans, a Welshman.

THE POWER OF BISHOPS. 257

honest man, will have some regard to the reasonableness and justice of the demand, so as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a suit, where law and equity are directly against him. By these means the bishops have been so true to their trusts, as to procure some small share in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious, that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thousand pounds a year in the hands of a protestant bishop, any more than of a lay person *. The former, generally speaking, liveth as piously and hospitably as the other; pays his debts as honestly, and spends as much of his revenue among his tenants: besides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may distinguish them at first sight by their habits and horses; or if you go to their houses, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that such immediate tenants generally speaking have others under them, and so a third and fourth in subordination, till it comes to the *welder* (as they call him) who sits at a rack-rent, and lives as miserable as an Irish farmer upon a new lease from a lay landlord. But suppose a bishop happens to be avaricious, (as being composed of the same stuff with other men) the consequence to the public is no worse than if he were a squire; for he leaves his fortune to his son or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no disadvantage to the public in a protestant country, that a man should hold lands as a *bishop*, any more than if he were a *temporal* person; so it is of great advantage to the community, where a bishop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conscience to reside in his diocese, and by a solemn promise to keep hospitality; his estate is spent in the kingdom, not remitted to England: he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppose

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when several of queen Anne's bishops were living.

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him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it must be allowed, that some bishops of this kingdom within twenty years past have done very signal and lasting acts of public charity; great instances whereof are the * late and † present primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbishop of Dublin that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the bishop of § Raphoe, and several others: not forgetting the late dean of Down, Dr Pratt, who bestowed one thousand pounds upon the university; which foundation, (that I may observe by the way) if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the bishops, nor ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum appointed by the statute for commons being not half sufficient by the fall of money to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tythes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? And what should hinder the same course to be taken in church leases, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the bishop? In riding through the country how few improvements do we see upon the estates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To say the truth, it is a great misfortune as well to the public as to the bishops themselves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great squires, who in reason were never designed to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a subserviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the

* Dr Marsh.

† Dr Lindsay.

‡ Dr King.

§ Dr Foster.

church were honest farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulness, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thousand pounds a year talk with great contempt of bishops leases, as being on a worse foot than the rest of his estate; and he had certainly reason: my answer was, that such leases were originally intended only for the benefit of industrious husbandmen, who would think it a great blessing to be so provided for, instead of having his farm screwed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find shoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by such a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and false dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to an highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the sin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookseller sent me a small pamphlet, entitled, *The case of the laity, with some queries*; full of the strongest malice against the clergy, that I have any where met with since the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. These kind of advocates do infinite mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE by giving grounds to the unjust reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majesty king GEORGE and the house of Hanover, not shaken in the least by the hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a prince; if I sincerely abjure the PRETENDER, and all POPISH SUCCESSORS; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king WILLIAM, who preserved these kingdoms from POPERY and SLAVERY with the expence of his blood, and hazard of his life; and lastly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all *dissenters*, I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of me as a WHIG, and that my political catechism is full and complete. But however, under the shelter of that party denomination, and of many great professions of loyalty would destroy, or undermine, or injure the CHURCH established; I utterly disown him, and think he ought

ought to chuse another name of distinction for himself and his adherents. I came into the cause upon other principles, which by the grace of God I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the accusations of our adversaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.* The TORIES and JACOBITES will behold us, with a malicious pleasure, determined upon the ruin of our *friends*. For is not the present set of bishops almost entirely of that number, as well as the great majority of the principal clergy? And a short time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold *queries* in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that *the reason still strongly exists, for which* that limiting law was enacted. A reasonable man will wonder, where can be *the insufferable grievance*, that an *ecclesiastical* landlord should expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is *at least* as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial bargains. Has *the nation been thrown into confusion*? And have *many poor families been ruined* by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does *the nation cry out* to have a law that must in time send their bishops a begging? But, God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church is not yet the *cry*, and I hope will never prove the *voice* of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the people maintain them*, any more than in the sense that all landlords whatsoever are maintained by the people. Such assertions as these, and the insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by those, who are for preserving the happy *constitution* in church and state. Whoever were the proposers of such *queries*, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more justice than prudence, by shewing at whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishops *at least* are not to answer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the *episcopal* rent-roll almost one half, let me suppose that all the church lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in such a case sit easier in their
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rents than they do now? Or, would the money be equally spent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be screwed up to the utmost penny by the agents and stewards of *absentees*, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole *income* of Ireland is annually returned, to answer that single *article of maintenance* for Irish landlords.

Another of his quarrels is against *pluralities* and *non-residence*: as to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well understood. The clergy having been stripped of the greatest part of their revenues, the *glebes* being generally lost, the *tythes* in the hands of laymen, the churches demolished, and the country depopulated; in order to preserve a face of *christianity*, it was necessary to unite small *vicarages* sufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a *minister*. The profit of ten or a dozen of these *unions* seldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a year. If there be a very few *dignitaries*, whose preferments are perhaps more liable to this accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be *favourites of the time*; or persons of *superior* merit, for whom there hath ever been some indulgence in all governments.

As to *non-residence*, I believe there is no christian country upon earth, where the clergy have less to answer for upon that *article*. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, properly speaking, can be termed *non-residents*; for surely we are not to reckon in that number those, who for want of *glebes* are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring village for a *cabbin* to put their heads in; the leading man of the parish, when he makes the greatest clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the *minister* with an acre of ground. And indeed, considering the *difficulties* the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to me, how they are able to perform that part of their duty so well as they do.

There is a † noble author, who hath lately addressed to the house of COMMONS an excellent discourse for the *encouragement of agriculture*; full of most useful *hints*, which I hope that honourable assembly will con-

† The late Lord Mollseworth.

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sider as they deserve. I am not a stranger to his lordship; and excepting in what relates to the church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of *tythes* upon the *clergy* and their *proctors*. His lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meanest farmer hath all manner of advantages against the most powerful clergyman, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the *minister* were ever so evil disposed; the whole system of *teizing*, *perplexing*, and *defrauding* the *proctor*, or his *master*, being as well known to every *plowman*, as the reaping or sowing of his corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading man in the parish must have his *tythes* at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful observers, whose interest was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordship's discontent against the *bishops-court*, I shall not interpose farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their just *dues* by a more *short*, *decisive*, and *compulsive* method, than such a cramped and limited jurisdiction will allow.

His lordship is not the only person disposed to give the clergy the honour of being the *sole* encouragers of all new improvements. If *hops*, *hemp*, *flax*, and twenty *things* more are to be planted, the clergy *alone* must reward the industrious farmer by abatement of the *tythe*. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would please to abate proportionably in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man just dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at least as reasonable?

I believe no man will dispute his lordship's title to his estate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of *tythes*, which he mentions with some emotion. I suppose the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the same reason that a *maxim* in *law* hath more weight in the world, than an *article* of *faith*. And yet I think there may be such a thing as *sacrilege*; because it is frequently mentioned

mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as described in *holy writ*. This I am sure of; that his lordship would at any time excuse a PARLIAMENT for not concerning itself in his properties without his own consent.

The observation I have made upon his lordship's discourse, have not I confess been altogether proper to my subject: however since he hath been pleased therein to offer some proposals to the house of commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the desire of defending *liberty* and *property*, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law empowering the bishops to set *fee-farms*; and says, *Whoever intimates, that they will deny their consent to such a reasonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and the church*. Whether this be his real opinion, or only a strain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church established under the hierarchy of bishops, or will never consent to any law, that shall repeal or elude the limiting clause relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli*, *For the preservation of the inheritance, rights and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical*: which was grounded upon reasons, that do still and must for ever subsist.

October 21,
1723.

The

The PRESBYTERIANS PLEA of MERIT in order to take off the TEST, impartially examined.

Written in the year 1731 *.

WE have been told in the common news papers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the *presbyterians* and their abettors for taking off the test; as a kind of preparatory step to make it go down smoother in England. For if once *their light would so shine*, the *papists* delighted with the blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he prescribes it to a human creature †.

The *presbyterians* have, ever since the revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject by shewing the merits and pretensions, upon which

* See a letter on this subject, P. 230. of this volume; which was reprinted in Ireland on the same occasion that produced this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and spirit, by saying.—“We have been told in the common news papers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the *presbyterians* and their abettors for taking off the test; as a kind of preparatory step to make it go down smoother in England. For if once *their light would so shine*, the *papists* delighted with the blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he prescribes it to a human creature.”—I have quoted this short passage for the style, as well as the matter; and I dare say, even from hence you will be confirmed in one general observation, that Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and allusions, with a justness particularly delicate and exact, and without the least stiffness or affectation. I have formerly mentioned in what degree of contempt and hatred he held the Dissenters, especially the *presbyterians* [above, p. 230.]; and I need only add, that as this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ought to have been placed with the other tracts on the same subject, *Orrery*.—And so it is placed in this edition.

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they claim this *justice*, as founded upon the services they did towards the restoration of king Charles the second, and at the *revolution* under the prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the sun against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I shall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the *presbyterians* upon those two great events; and the pretensions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England under Edward the sixth; upon queen Mary's succeeding to the crown (who restored *popery*) many *protestants* fled out of England to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon queen Mary's death returned to England; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly against *episcopacy*, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church: building upon this foundation; to run as far as possible from *popery* even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction, under the name of *puritan*, became very turbulent during the whole reign of queen Elizabeth, and were always discouraged by that wise queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers as well as their insolence and perverseness so far increased, that soon after the death of king James the first, many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets written for some years after (which was a trade they began in the days of queen Elizabeth) particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies: such were those scurrilous libels under the title of Martin Marprelate, and several others. And although the Earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a state of perfect peace and happiness, without the least appearance of thought or design towards

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making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found, by often rumaging for old books in Little Britain and Ducklane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640 full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the crown, and the order of bishops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However I find it manifest, that *puritanism* did not erect itself into a new separate species of religion till some time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of king James the first, and the former part of his son, there were several *puritan* bishops, and many *puritan* private clergymen; while people went as their inclinations led them to hear preachers of each party in the parish churches, for the *puritan* clergy had received episcopal orders as well as the rest. But soon after the rebellion broke out, the term *puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *presbyterian* succeeded; which sect was in two or three years established in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without consulting the king, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of *independent*: it spread indeed somewhat more in the latter; but not equal with the *presbyterians* either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in the isle of Wight, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London they reported his majesty's answer in the house. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow says, had secured their own terms with that prince, managed with so much art, as to obtain a majority in a thin house for passing a vote, that *the king's concessions were a ground for a future settlement*. But the great officers of the army joining with the discontented members came to a resolution of excluding all those, who had consented to that vote; which they

they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid *presbyterian*, of this resolution; who thereupon issued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the General, in conjunction with those members who had opposed the vote, would let no member enter the house except those of their own party. Upon which the question for bringing the king to justice was immediately put, and carried without opposition, that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himself was one; although by the advice or threats of his wife he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh orders under his own hand, which I have seen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any opposition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced, it appears manifest, that the differences between these two sects, *presbyterian* and *independent*, did not then amount to half so much as what there is between a *whig* and *tory* at present among us. The design of utterly extirpating monarchy and episcopacy was equally the same in both; evidently the consequence of the very same principles, upon which the *presbyterians* alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same events; if towards the conclusion they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the spoil. However, they held a good share of civil and military employments during the whole time of the usurpation; and their names, actions and preferments are frequent in the accounts of those times. For I make no doubt, that all the prudent *presbyterians* complied in proper seasons falling in with the stream; and thereby got that share in employments, which many of them held till the restoration; and perhaps too many of them after. In the same manner we find our wisest *tories* in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and measures at the queen's death, have endeavoured for several years by due compliances to recover the time they had lost by a temporary obstinacy; where-in they have well succeeded, according to their degrees

of merit; of whose names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modesty. As to what is alledged, that some of the *presbyterians* declared openly against the king's murder; I allow it to be true. But from what motives? No other can possibly be assigned than perfect spight, rage, and envy, to find themselves wormed out of all power by a new infant spawn of *independents* sprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national assemblies. But wherever interest or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the opposite parties think fit to charge upon each other; for we see at this day, that the *tories* are more hated by the whole set of zealous *whigs*, than the very *papists* themselves; and in effect as much unqualified for the smallest office; although both these parties assert themselves to be of the same religion in all its branches of doctrine and discipline; and profess the same loyalty to the same *protestant* king and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this *independent* party, upon whom all the mischief is charged by their *presbyterian* brethren, he may please to observe, that during the whole usurpation they contended by degrees with their parent sect, and as I have already said, shared in employments; and gradually after the restoration, mingled with the mass of *presbyterians*; lying ever since undistinguished in the herd of *dissenters*.

The *presbyterian* merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themselves instrumental towards the king's restoration. The kingdom grew tired with those ridiculous models of government; first by a house of lords and commons without a king; then without bishops; afterwards by a rump* and lords temporal; then by a rump alone; next by a single person for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of representatives from the three kingdoms; by the

* This name was given to that part of the house of commons, which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force. *Hawkes*

keepers of the liberties of England ; with other schemes that have slipt out of my memory. Cromwell was dead ; his son Richard a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the same manner with the two usurping kings of Brentford † ; the people harassed with taxes, and other oppressions. The king's party, then called the Cavaliers, began to recover their spirits. The few nobility scattered through the kingdom, who lived in a most retired manner, observing the confusion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The *rump* assembly grew despicable to those, who had raised them : the city of London exhausted by almost twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared against them. The *rump*, after many deaths and resurrections, was in the most contemptuous manner kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in : a free parliament called in as legal a manner as the times would allow ; and the king restored.

The second claim of *presbyterian* merit is founded upon their services against the dangerous designs of king James the second ; while that prince was using all his endeavours to introduce *popery*, which he openly professed upon his coming to the crown : to this they add their eminent services at the revolution under the prince of Orange.

Now the *quantum* of *presbyterian* merit during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill advised prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will easily be computed by a recourse to a great number of histories, pamphlets and public papers, printed in those times and some afterwards ; besides the verbal testimonies of many persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the *dissenters* conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon king Charles the second's death, soon after his successor had publickly owned himself a Roman *catholic*, he began with his first caresses to the church party ; from whom having received very cold, dis-

† In the Rehearſal. *Hawkeſ.*

couraging answers, he applied to the *presbyterian* leaders and teachers: being adised by his priests and *papist* courtiers, that the safest method towards introducing his own religion would be by taking off the *sacramental test*, and giving a full liberty of conscience to all religions, (I suppose that professed christianity.) It seems that the *presbyterians* in the latter years of king Charles the second, upon account of certain plots (allowed by bishop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a short time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon these charitable Christians, out of perfect resentment against the church, received the gracious offers of king James with the strongest professions of loyalty, and highest acknowledgements for his favour. I have seen several of their addressee, full of thanks and praises, with bitter insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the *papists* upon the same foot, as fellow-sufferers for conscience; and with the stile of *our brethren the Roman catholicks*. About this time began the project of *closeting* (which hath since been practised many times with more art and success) where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechised by his majesty to know whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to pass an act for repealing the *sacramental test*, and establishing a general liberty of conscience. But he received so little encouragement, that, despairing of success, he had recourse to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination he preferred several *presbyterians*, and many *papists*, to civil and military employments. While the king was thus busied, it is well known that monsieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the prince and princess of Orange concerning the repeal of the *test*; whereof the king had sent an account to their highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by Fagel, was this, *that their highnesses thought very well of a liberty of conscience; but by no means of giving employments to any other persons than those who were of the national church*. This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of those times.

times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to : but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, hath very few examples in any christian state ; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence king James received of an intended invasion by the prince of Orange, among great numbers of *papists* to increase his troops he gave commissions to several *presbyterians* ; some of whom had been officers under the *rump* ; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted *presbyterian*, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs. This regiment was raised in England against the prince of Orange : the colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a *presbyterian* as his father. However, at the time of the prince's landing, the father, easily foreseeing how things would go, went over like many others to the prince, who continued him in his regiment ; but coming over a year or two after, to assist in raising the siege of Derry, he behaved himself so like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now consider the conduct of the church party during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an act for repealing the test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience, that the king durst not trust a parliament ; but encouraged by the professions of loyalty given him by his *presbyterian* friends, went on with his dispensing power.

The church clergy at that time are allowed to have written the best collection of tracts against *popery*, that ever appeared in England ; which are to this day in the highest esteem. But upon the strictest enquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers published by the *presbyterians* at that time upon the same subject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the rest) were sent to the tower for presenting a petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal command

from the king. The bishop of London, Dr Compton, was summoned to answer before the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs for not suspending Dr Sharp (afterwards Archbishop of York) by the king's command. If the *presbyterians* expressed the same zeal upon any occasion, the instances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or transmitted by tradition. The proceedings against Magdalen college in Oxford, for refusing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a professed *papist* upon their foundation, are a standing proof of the courage and firmness in religion shewn by that learned society to the ruin of their fortunes. The *presbyterians* know very well, that I could produce many more instances of the same kind. But these are enough in so short a paper as I intend at present.

It is indeed very true, that after king William was settled on the English throne, the *presbyterians* began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour; and the new king having been originally bred a Calvinist was desirous enough to make them easy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that sect; nor designed to favour them farther than as it stood with the present scheme of politics; as I have long since been assured by the greatest men of whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewise true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was possessed of the English crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the *presbyterians* wisely chose to join with the *protestant* army, rather than with that of king James their old friend, whose affairs were then in a manner desperate. They were wise enough to know, that this kingdom divided against itself could never prevail against the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis*; for their estates and religion; which latter will never suffer so much by the church of England, as by that of Rome where they are counted heretics as well as we: and consequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a *protestant* army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties against a *papist* enemy under an abdicated king; is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable;

ceivable; and I believe will equally be so for ever to any reasonable man.

When these sectaries were several years ago making the same attempt for abolishing the test, many groundless reports were industriously and seasonably spread, of an invasion threatened by the *pretender* on the north of Ireland. At which time the *presbyterians* in their pamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the *pretender* should invade those parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and estates of the dissenters chiefly lay, they would sit still, and *let us fight our own battles*; since they were to reap no advantage, which ever side should be victors. If this were the course they intended to take in such a case, I desire to know, how they could contrive safely to stand neutrals, otherwise than by a compact with the *pretender* and his army to support their neutrality, and protect them against the forces of the crown? This is a necessary supposition; because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration they sufficiently shewed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door; that a Scottish or northern *presbyterian* hates our episcopal established church more than *popery* itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough; because it is the church alone, that stands in the way between them and power; which *popery* doth not.

Upon this occasion I am in some doubt, whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions, made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprize. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the *presbyterians* in countenancing and confirming those reports; because, it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body; for if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the *pretender* counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the *presbyterians* by chusing to land in those very parts, where their number, wealth and power most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore in charity to this sect I rather incline to believe, that those reports of an invasion were

formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable jobb.

As to *popery* in general, which for a thousand years past hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and discipline; I look upon it to be the most absurd system of christianity professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The estates of papists are very few; crumbling into small parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance and cowardice; and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one half ruined, banished, or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war: some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it hath been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against *popery* in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad at different times, and the interest of the *protestant* religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding; so I do not conceive, why a sunk discarded party, who neither expect nor desire any thing more than a quiet life, should under the names of *high-flyers*, *jacobites*, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print and at common tables with endeavouring to introduce *popery* and the *pretender*; while the *papists* abhor them above all other men on account of severities against their priests in her late majesty's reign, when the *now disbanded reprobate party* was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago by a long journey into the southern parts; where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through, and to my great satisfaction found them every where abounding in professions of loyalty to the late king George; for which they gave me the reasons above-mentioned; at the same time complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the *QUEEN's last ministry*.

I return from this digression to the modest demands of the
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the *presbyterians* for a repeal of the *sacramental test*, as a reward for their merits at the *restoration* and the *revolution*; which merits I have fairly represented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any mistakes, they must be of little moment. The facts and principal circumstances are what I have obtained and digested from reading the histories of those times written by each party; and many thousands have done the same as well as I, who I am sure have in their minds drawn the same conclusions.

This is the faction, and these the men, who are now resuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which of all others they have the least pretensions to offer. I have collected the facts with all possible impartiality from the current histories of those times; and have shewn, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of those sectaries under the denominations of *puritans*, *presbyterians* and *independents* for about the space of an hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth to this present time. But notwithstanding all that can be said, these very schismatics (for such they are in temporals as well as spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting and demanding (not without insinuated threats, according to their custom) that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the church established. I would fain know to what branch of the legislature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my lords the bishops; who must have often read how the predecessors of this very faction, acting upon the same principles, drove the whole bench out of the house; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three estates: not to the temporal peers, the second of the three estates, who must have heard, that immediately after those rebellious fanatics had murdered their king, they voted a house of lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer, otherwise than when elected as commoners: not to the house of commons; who must have heard, that in those fanatic times the *presbyterian* and *independent* commanders in the army, by military power expelled all the moderate men out of the house, and left a *rump* to govern the nation: lastly, not to the crown; which those very *saints* destined

destined to rule the earth trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the blessed wearer.

But the session now approaching, and a clan of dissenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and supported by a general contribution to solicit their establishment with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper should see the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confessing, that if the *presbyterians* should obtain their ends, I could not be sorry to find them mistaken in the point, which they have most at heart by the repeal of the *test*; I mean the benefit of employments. For after all, what assurance can a Scottish northern dissenter born on Irish ground have, that he shall be treated with as much favour as a *TRUE SCOT* born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common excuse of other men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil ties to discharge my conscience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occasion. It is true, the advocates for this scheme promise a new world after this blessed work shall be compleated; that all animosity and faction must immediately drop; that the only distinction in this kingdom will then be of *papist* and *protestant*: for as to *whig* and *tory*, *high church* and *low church*, *jacobite* and *Hanoverian*, *court* and *country party*, *English* and *Irish* interests, *dissenters* and *conformists*, *new light* and *old light*, *Anabaptist* and *Independent*, *Quaker* and *muggletonian*; they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony at the sessions and assizes, on the bench and in the revenues; and upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: that a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the *papists*, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know, what arts the *presbyterian* sect intends to use in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even

even the birth of their *independent* rivals) as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as episcopacy and the house of lords, even until the king was restored: at which event although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle, by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to shew that others have done it for them, by a certain * doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like disputes. I own, they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any government: but if they mean to be honest and upright, they will and must endeavour by all means, which they shall think lawful, to introduce and establish their own scheme of religion, as nearest approaching to the word of God by casting out all superstitious ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctions, and superiorities, as rags of *popery*, in order to a *thorough reformation*; and as in charity bound to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wishing with St Paul, *that the whole kingdom were as they are*. But what assurance will they please to give, that when their sect shall become the national established worship, they will treat U S D I S S E N T E R S as we have treated them? Was this their course of proceeding during the dominion of the *saints*? Were not all the remainders of the episcopal church in those days, especially the clergy, under a persecution for above a dozen years, equal to that of the primitive Christians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was suitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books expressly against allowing any liberty of conscience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and among the rest one frequently insisted on; that allowing such a liberty would be to *establish iniquity by a law* †. Many of these writings are yet to be seen; and I hear have been quoted by the doctor above-mentioned.

* The late Dr TISDAL, who died June 1736.

† See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatise called, *Scotch presbyterian Eloquence*.

As to their great objection of prostituting that holy institution, the blessed sacrament, by way of a test before admittance into any employment ; I ask, whether they would not be content to receive it *after their own manner* for the office of a judge, for that of a commissioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horse, or to be a lord justice. I believe they would scruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can say without *bending a knee* ; for as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles is performed with little more solemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, since they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can nor ought in conscience to allow us that liberty, otherwise than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the *papists*. But lest we should offend them, I am ready to change this test for another ; although I am afraid, that sanctified reason is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen ; as if they could be content with our believing, that the impiety and profanation of making the sacrament a test were the only objection. I therefore propose, that before the present law be repealed, another may be enacted ; that no man shall receive any employment before he swears himself to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and discipline, *etc.* and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worship. It shall likewise be further enacted, that whoever offends, *etc.* shall be fined five hundred pounds, imprisoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all public trust for ever. Otherwise I do insist, that those pious, indulgent, external professors of our national religion shall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reason for taking off the test, or freely confess, that they desire to have a gate wide open for every sect without any test at all, except that of swearing loyalty to the king : which however, considering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter test, than any other that the law hath yet invented.

For from the first time that these sectaries appeared in
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the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they professed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at present three civil establishments, where Calvinists and some other reformers who rejected *episcopacy*, possess the supreme power; and these are all republics; I mean, Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiss cantons. I do not say this in diminution or disgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confess I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some observation, long experience, and a thorough detestation for the corruptions of mankind: insomuch, that I am now justly liable to the censure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the histories of ancient Greece and Rome, those renowned scenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who must be supposed well to study and understand their own interest; they will best consider, whether those people, who in all their actions, preachings and writings have openly declared themselves against regal power, are to be safely placed in an equal degree of favour and trust with those, who have been always found the true and only friends to the English establishment. From which consideration, I could have added one more article to my new test, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been assured by some persons who were present, that several of these dissenting teachers, upon their first arrival hither to solicit the repeal of the test, were pleased to express their gratitude by publickly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the test must be delivered up by the very *superiors appointed to defend it*; the affair is already in effect at an end. What *secret* reasons those patrons may have given for such a return of brotherly love, I shall not enquire: *for, O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united. For in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.*

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The ADVANTAGES proposed by repealing the
SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially con-
sidered.

Written in the year 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this subject, must do it not only as a mere secular man ; but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular system of christianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worship and ceremony, which is looked upon as the established ; and consequently, only the priests of that particular form are maintained at the public charge ; and all civil employments bestowed among those, who comply (at least outwardly) with the same establishment.

This method is strictly observed, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confessed to allow the fullest liberty of conscience of any christian state ; and yet are never known to admit any persons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worship. As to their military men, they are indeed not so scrupulous ; being by the nature of their government under a necessity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination upon every great emergency, and maintaining no small number in time of peace.

This caution therefore of making one established faith seems to be universal, and founded upon the strongest reasons, the mistaken or affected zeal of obstinacy and enthusiasm having produced such a number of horrible destructive events throughout all Christendom. For whoever begins to think the national worship is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proselytes as he can : and a nation may possibly have an hundred different sects with their leaders ; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they must *obey God rather than*

than man; must cry aloud and spare not; must lift up their voice like a trumpet.

This was the very case of England during the fanatic times. And against all this there seems to be no defence, but that of supporting one established form of doctrine and discipline; leaving the rest to a bare liberty of conscience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

Wherever this national religion grows so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or senate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the work might be done without blood or confusion. Yet, whenever such a change shall be made, some other establishment must succeed, although for the worse; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this sense, those who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken: for many laws in *popish* kingdoms and states, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly against the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

.. Thus for instance, if the three estates of parliament in England (whereof the lords spiritual, who represent the church, are one) should agree and obtain the royal assent to abolish episcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the English church, as *burthensome, dangerous and contrary to holy scripture*; and that *presbytery, anabaptism, quakerism, independency, muggletonianism, Brownism, familism*, or any other subdivided sect among us, should be established in its place, without question all peaceable subjects ought passively to submit; and the predominant sect must become the religion established; the public maintaining no other teachers, not admitting any persons of a different religious profession into civil offices, at least if their intention be to preserve the nation in peace.

Supposing then, that the present system of religion were abolished; and *presbytery*, which I find stands the fairest, with its synods and classes, and all its forms and ceremonies essential or circumstantial, were erected into the national

tional worship; their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be supported at the public charge, whether by stipends or tythes, and only the rest of the same faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reasoning in what I have laid down, it should seem, that the project now in agitation for repealing the *test act*, and yet leaving the name of an establishment to the present national church, is altogether inconsistent; and may admit of consequences, which those, who are the most indifferent to any religion at all, are possibly not aware of.

I presume, whenever the *test* shall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all *dissenters*, (except *papists*) whose consciences can suffer them to take the common oaths in such cases prescribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-station in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an excise-man.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench the first may be a *presbyterian*, the second a *free-will baptist*, and the third a *church-man*; the lord chancellor may be an independent: the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the strong probability, that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be revealed to the quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motly administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religionist to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publicly shew the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, bishop Burnet tells us, that the *presbyterians*

byterians in the fanatic times professed themselves to be above morality ; which, as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the *beggarly elements* ; and accordingly at this day no scruples of conscience with regard to conformity are in any trade or calling inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppression, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in Montaigne, of a common prostitute, who in the storming of a town, when a soldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck by leaping out of the window than suffer a rape ; yet still continued her trade of lewdness, while she had any customers left.

I confess, that in my private judgment an unlimited permission of all sects whatsoever (except *papists*) to enjoy employments would be less pernicious to the public, than a fair struggle between two contenders ; because in the former case, such a jumble of principles might possibly have the effect of contrary poisons mingled together ; which a strong constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

But however I shall take the other and more probable supposition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the *presbyterians*, and those of the church yet established. I shall not enter into the merits of either side by examining, which of the two is the better spiritual œconomy, or which is most suited to our civil constitution : but the question turns upon this point ; when the *presbyterians* shall have got their share of employments, (which must be one full half, or else, they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not by their own principles, and by the strictest rules of conscience, to use the utmost of their skill, power and influence in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and discipline most agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can succeed without blood (as under the present disposition of things it is very possible they may) it is to be hoped they will at last be satisfied : only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The first is of compromising among themselves that important controversy about
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the *old light* and the *new*; which otherwise may after this establishment split them as wide as *papist* and *protestant*, *whig* and *tory*, or *churchman* and *dissenter*; and consequently the work will be to begin again: for in religious quarrels it is of little moment, how few or small the differences are; especially when the dispute is only about power. Thus the zealous *presbyterians* of the North are more alienated from the established clergy, than from the Romish priests; taxing the former with idolatrous worship, as disguised *papists*, *ceremony-mongers*, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reason; because the clergy stand in their way, which the *papist* priests do not. Thus I am assured that the quarrel between *old* and *new light-men* is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other dispute of the highest importance; and this, because it serves to lessen or increase their several congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty, which may embarrass the *presbyterians* after their establishments will be, how to adjust their claim of the *kirk's* independency on the civil power, with the constitution of this monarchy; a point so delicate, that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy without the least ground of suspicion.

As to the *presbyterians* allowing liberty of conscience to those of episcopal principles, when their own *kirk* shall be predominant; their writers are so universally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no reasonable churchman (who must then be a *dissenter*) will expect it.

I shall here take notice, that in the division of employments among the *presbyterians* after this approaching repeal of the *test-act*, supposing them in proper time to have an equal share, the odds will be three or four to one on their side in any farther scheme they may have towards making their religion national. For, I reckon all those gentlemen sent over from England, whatever religion they profess or have been educated in, to be of that party: since it is no mark of prudence for any persons to oppose the current of a nation, where they are in some sort only sojourners; unless they *have it in direction*.

If

If there be any maxim in politics not to be controuled, it must be the following: that those, whose private interest is united with the interest of their country, supposing them to be of equal understanding with the rest of their neighbours, will heartily wish, that the nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all persons, who are sent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; because they cannot possibly bear any affection to the place where they sojourn, even for life; their sole business being to advance themselves by following the advice of their *principals*. I except likewise those persons, who are taken into offices, although natives of the land; because they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could possibly be by mending the miserable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hopers, who by balancing accounts with themselves turn the scale on the same side; because the strong expectation of a good certain salary, will outweigh the loss by bad rents received out of lands in money-less times.

If my lords the bishops, who I hear are now employed in a scheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, shall in their wisdom and piety and love of the church consent to this repeal of the *test*, I have not the least doubt, that the whole reverend body will cheerfully submit to their spiritual fathers; of whose paternal tenderness for their welfare they have already found so many *amazing* instances.

I am not therefore under the least concern about the clergy on this account. They will (*for some time*) be no great sufferers by this repeal; because I cannot recollect among all our sects any one, that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an institution to a church-living; and until that bar shall be removed, the present episcopal clergy are safe for two years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal, that in the *northern* parts, where there may be three *dissenters* to one *churchman*, the whole revenue shall be engrossed by him who hath so small a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this disadvantage, which the *dissenters* at present lie under, of a disability to receive church-

church-preferments, will be easily remedied by the repeal of the *test*. For the *dissenting* teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments, wherein they agree perfectly with the *popish* clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the *indelible character*, which no sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both *presbyterians* and *independents*, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himself was a preacher; and hath left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern *presbyterian* teachers: so was colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and several others whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason, why a painful *presbyterian* teacher, as soon as the *test* shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold along with the spiritual office and stipend a commission in the army or the civil list in *commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of *Christians*, which in effect disqualifies those, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from sharing in the civil power, farther than as senators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of *popery*, many hundred years before the *reformation*, and woven with the very institution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the stipends of dissenting teachers may be raised, and the farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a people so deserving, and so loyal by their principles. Every bishop upon the vacancy of a church-living can sequester the profits for the use of the next incumbent. Upon a lapse of half a year the donation falls to the archbishop, and after a full year to the crown, during pleasure. Therefore it would be no hardship for any clergyman *alive*, if (in those parts of Ireland, where the number of sectaries much exceeds that of the conformists) the profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the support of the dissenting teacher, who hath so many souls to take care of; whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved

ed in those hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, against which a remedy doth not so readily occur. For supposing the *test-act* repealed, and the dissenters in consequence fully qualified for all secular employments; the question may still be put, whether those of Ireland will be often the persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined, there may be * another *seminary* in view, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*, and more easily contented with such low offices; which some nearer neighbours hardly think it worth stirring from their chimney-sides to obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of those who are skilled in the management of bees, that when they see a foreign swarm at some distance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, these artists have a trick to divert them into some neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many suspecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to see dangers afar off: to all which I can only say, that our native *presbyterians* must by pains and industry raise such a fund of *merit*, as will answer to a birth six degrees more to the North. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as several of the established church have compassed by indefatigable pains, I do not well see, how their affairs will much mend by repealing the *test*: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be disqualified in fact, as it will much increase the mortification, so it will withdraw the pity of many among their well-wishers, and utterly deprive them of that *merit* they have so long made, of being a loyal, *true protestant* people, persecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their case, they must wait maturity of time; until they can by prudent, gentle steps, make their faith become the religion established in the nation; after which, I do not in the least doubt, that they will take the most effectual methods to secure their power a-

* Scotland.

gainst those, who must then be *dissenters* in their turn; whereof, if we may form a future opinion from present times, and the dispositions of *dissenters*, who love to make a *thorough reformation*, the number and qualities will be very inconsiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmost sincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmost deference and submission to public wisdom and power.

QUERIES

QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1732.

QUERY, **W**HETHER hatred and violence between parties in a state be not more inflamed by different views of interest, than by the greater or lesser differences between them either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the question at this time, which of the two religions is worse, *popery* or *fanaticism*; or not rather, which of the two (having both the same good will) is in the hopefullest condition to ruin the church?

Whether the sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the *papists*?

Whether the prevailing sectaries could allow liberty of conscience to *dissenters* without belying all their former practice, and almost all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thousand Scotch presbyterians are not full as virulent against the episcopal church, as they are against the *papists*; or as they would have us think the *papists* are against them?

Whether the Dutch, who are most distinguished for allowing liberty of conscience, do ever admit any persons, who profess a different scheme of worship from their own, into civil employments, although they *may* be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether the *dissenters* ever pretended, until of late years, to desire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the *test*, that the *dissenters* in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a necessary point of prudence by all proper and lawful means to prevent their farther increase?

The great argument given by those, whom they call *low* churchmen, to justify the large tolerations allowed to *dissenters* hath been; that by such indulgencies the rancour of those sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether if what the above pamphleteer asserts, that the sectaries are equal in numbers with conformists be true; it doth not clearly follow, that those repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what those *low* church politicians pretended to foresee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own profession most agreeable to holy scripture and the primitive church, can really wish in his heart; that all sectaries should be upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether episcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apostolical institution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether by necessary consequences the several expedients among the sectaries to constitute their teachers are not absolutely null and void?

Whether the sectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from bishops?

Whether the bishops and clergy will be content to give up episcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well subsist?

Whether that great tenderness towards sectaries, which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of *popery*, or to that spirit of Atheism, Deism, Scepticism, and universal immorality, which all good men so much lament?

Granting *popery* to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the sectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of these kingdoms with allowance for the short time, which the sectaries had to act in, who are in a manner *but of yesterday*. The *papists* in the time of king James the 1st used all endeavours to establish their superstition, wherein

wherein they failed by the united power of English church-protestants with the prince of Orange's assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these bigotted *papists* had the least design to oppose or murder the king, much less to abolish kingly government; nor was it their interest or inclination to attempt either.

On the other side the Puritans, who had almost from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's side, joining with the Scotch enthusiasts in the time of king Charles the first, were the principal cause of the Irish *rebellion* and *massacre* by distressing that prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely succours. And after that pious prince had satisfied his parliament in every single point to be complained of, the same sectaries by poisoning the minds and affections of the people with the most false and wicked representations of their king, were able in the compass of a few years, to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion at the expence of many thousand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world, and (in their own style) to destroy the church *root and branch*.

The account therefore stands thus. The *papists* aimed at one pernicious act, which was to destroy the *protestant* religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the assistance of our glorious king William, they absolutely failed. The sectaries attempted the three most infernal actions, that could possibly enter into the hearts of men forsaken by God; which were, the murder of a most pious king, the destruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and succeeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of those sectaries have ever yet in a solemn public manner renounced any one of those principles, upon which their predecessors then acted?

Whether, considering the cruel persecutions of the episcopal church, during the course of that horrid rebellion, and the consequences of it until the happy *restoration*, it is not manifest, that the persecuting spirit lies so equally divided between the *papists* and the sectaries, that a seather would turn the ballance on either side?

And therefore, lastly, Whether any person of common

understanding, who professeth himself a member of the church established, although perhaps with little inward regard to any religion (which is too often the case) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can after cool thinking rejoice to see a power placed again in the hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a faction, to act over all the same parts a second time?

Whether the candor of that expression so frequent of late in sermons and pamphlets, of the *strength and number of the papists in Ireland*, can be justified? For as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politicks of the speaker and writer; but it is a gross imposition upon common reason to terrify us with their strength. For *popery*, under the circumstances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough from the consequences it hath to encrease the rapine, sloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession. It is the contempt of the wise; the best topic for clamours of designing men; but the real terror only of fools. The landed *popish* interest in England far exceeds that among us even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into *protestant* hands by purchase or descent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts will fall with the cause of it in half a generation, unless it be raised or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The *papists* are wholly disarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclinations to rebel: they want every advantage, which they formerly possessed, to follow that trade; and wherein even with those advantages they always miscarried: they appear very easy and satisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole last reign; nor ever scrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much severity.

Upon these considerations I must confess to have suspended much of my pity towards the great dreaders of *popery*; many of whom appear to be hale, strong, active young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink and sleep heartily;

heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good reason) upon all other subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern, which our neighbours, and others who come from the same neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this account; although the former be farther removed from the danger of *popery* by twenty leagues of salt water: but this, I fear, is a digression.

When an artificial report was raised here many years ago of an intended invasion by the *pretender*, (which blew over after it had done its office) the *dissenters* argued in their talk and in their pamphlets after this manner, applying themselves to those of the church: Gentlemen, if the *pretender* had landed, as the law now stands, we durst not assist you; and therefore, unless you take off the *test*, whenever you shall happen to be invaded in earnest, if we are desired to take up arms in your defence, our answer shall be, Pray, gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will lie by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reasoning I have heard from several of their chiefs and abettors in an hundred conversations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project should fail to take off the *test*.

Upon which piece of oratory and reasoning I form the following query. Whether in case of an invasion from the *pretender* (which is not quite so probable as from the *grand signior*) the *dissenters* can with prudence and safety offer the same plea; except they shall have made a previous stipulation with the invaders? And whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, sufficient motives for repelling invasions; especially in our sectaries, who call themselves the *truest protestants*, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceness against *popery*.

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the blessed king Charles the first, enjoined by act of parliament, can be justly reckoned a particular and distinguishing mark of good affection to the present government?

Whether in those churches, where the said day is observed, it will fully answer the intent of the said act, if the preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion with all its consequences, the following usurpations, the entire destruction of the church, the cruel and continual persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its doctrines, with the ensuing Babel of fanaticism, to the account of that blessed king, who, by granting the petition of right, and passing every bill that could be asked for the security of the subject, had, by the confession of those wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether such a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many years past even in the presence of viceroys) who takes that course as a means for promotion, may not be thought to step a little out of the common road in a monarchy where the descendants of that most blessed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reason of making these queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS

REASONS humbly offered to the parliament of
Ireland for repealing the SACRAMENTAL
TEST, in favour of the CATHOLICS.*

Written in the year 1732.

IT is well known, that the first conquerors of this kingdom were English *catholics*, subjects to English *catholic* kings, from whom by their valour and success they obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the Irish: to which merit our *brethren* the dissenters of any denomination whatsoever have not the least pretensions.

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In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for repealing the *test-act* in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in England. The various arguments for it were answered in every shape; but no way more effectually, than by examining what pretence the presbyterians had to share in all the privileges of government, either from their own principles and behaviour, or compared with those of other sectaries. Under the former head they were fully silenced by our author, in *The presbyterians plea of merit impartially examined* [above, p. 264.]. They are now put in the balance with papists, whom although they have sometimes styled their brethren in adversity, yet, when placed in competition, they will hate as brethren likewise. But let them here dispute the preference, and then put in their claim to be a part of the establishment.

* The author having before examined the Presbyterians plea of merit, with respect to their own principles and practices, has in this tract put them in the balance against Papists. *Hawkes.*

This tract is written under the assumed character of a Roman Catholic; by which means the author attacks his adversaries with a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the several atrocious crimes of the papists; but at the same time palliates them so skillfully, that, from that very acknowledgement, he enables himself to aim the heavier blows at the presbyterians. A paragraph extracted from the pamphlet will exemplify my meaning. [Here the particu-

lar

It is confessed, that the posterity of those first victorious *catholics* were often forced to rise in their own defence against new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Irish with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till in the next generation the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner by new English adventurers, which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders. Whereas all the rebellions of *puritans*, *presbyterians*, *independents*, and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and seize both into their own hands; which however at last they did with the murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.

The *catholics* were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas our *brethren* the *dissenters* were always republicans both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the *catholics* of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true *whigs*, in the best and most proper sense of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the royal house of Hanover, in the person and posterity of George II. against the *pretender* and all his *adherents*. To which they think themselves bound in gratitude as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that princess, during the administration of that *wicked* minister the Earl of Oxford.

lar passage is quoted, beginning thus, "We allow the CATHOLICS to be BRETHREN of the dissenters," etc. p. 299. l. 11. ending l. 35.]. — The greatest art, and the keenest strokes of irony, display themselves throughout the whole composition: and the conclusion of it is drawn up with a mixture of serious and ironical arguments that seem to defy all kinds of refutation. *Orrery*.

The

The *catholics* of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a title as any of their *brother* dissenters to the appellation of *protestants*. They have always *protested* against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the court of Rome; against *deism*, *atheism*, *Socinianism*, *quakerism*, *Muggletonianism*, *fanaticism*, *Brownism*; as well as against all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics. Whereas the title of *protestants* assumed by the whole herd of dissenters (except ourselves) dependeth entirely upon their *protesting* against *archbishops*, *bishops*, *deans* and *chapters*, with their *revenues*; and the whole *hierarchy*; which are the very expressions used in the *solemn league and covenant* *; where the word *papery* is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; because the *catholics* agree with the episcopal church in those fundamentals.

Although the *catholics* cannot deny, that in the great rebellion against king Charles I. more soldiers of their religion were in the parliament army than in his majesty's troops; and that many jesuits and friars went about in the disguise of *presbyterian* and *independent* ministers to preach up rebellion, as the best historians of those times inform us; yet the bulk of *catholics* in both kingdoms preserved their loyalty entire.

The *catholics* have some reason to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O Neal with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raised afterwards by the *catholic* lords and gentlemen of the English pale in defence of the king, after the English rebellion began. It is well known, that his majesty's affairs were in great distraction some time before by an invasion of the *covenanting* Scottish, *kirk* rebels, and by the base terms the king was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet at a juncture when

* A solemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and English fanatics in the rebellion against King Charles I. 1643. by which they solemnly engaged among other things, "to endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and all other episcopal officers depending on that hierarchy." *Hawkesf.*

he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatic party, which soon after set all in a flame. And if the *catholic* army in Ireland fought for their king against the forces sent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion against him, what person of loyal principles can be so partial to deny, that they did their duty by joining with the Marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commissions from the king? for which great numbers of them lost their lives, and forfeited their estates; a great part of the latter being now possessed by many descendants from those very men, who had drawn their swords in the service of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head, and destroyed monarchy. And what is more amazing, although the same persons, when the Irish were intirely subdued, continued in power under the *rump*, were chief confidents, and faithful subjects to Cromwell; yet being wise enough to foresee a *restoration*, they seized the forts and castles here out of the hands of their *old brethren in rebellion*, for the service of the king; just saving the tide and putting in a stock of merit sufficient not only to preserve the land which the *catholics* lost by their loyalty, but likewise to preserve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Those insurrections wherewith the *catholics* are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a *new* religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the *old*; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that *christianity* was first introduced into this Island, which was by *catholics*; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, doth not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary; they united in a *solemn league and covenant* to alter the whole system of spiritual government established in all christian nations, and of apostolic institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The

The *catholics* of Ireland in the great rebellion lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king. The schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of those very estates, which the *catholics* lost in defence of the antient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics: and thus they gained by their *rebellion*, what the *catholics* lost by their *loyalty*.

We allow the *catholics* to be *brethren* of the dissenters; some people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have *them* to be our children, because *we* both dissent from the church established, and both agree in abolishing this persecuting sacramental test; by which *negative discouragement* we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However; we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of these schismatics, in calling the members of the national church their *brethren* and *fellow protestants*. It is true, that all these sects (except the *catholics*) are *brethren* to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverseness, pride, and (if we except the *quakers*) in rebellion. But, how the churchmen can be stiled their *fellow protestants*, we cannot comprehend: because, when the whole Babel of sectaries joined against the church, the king, and the nobility for twenty years in a MATCH AT FOOT BALL, where the proverb expressly tells us, that *all are FELLOWS*; while the three kingdoms were tossed to and fro; the churches and cities and royal palaces shattered to pieces by their *balls*, their *buffets*, and their *kicks*; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT BALL; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the plantations, or enslaved all their opposers who had *lost the game*.

It is said the world is governed by *opinion*; and politicians assure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to distraction of their own opinions, and so much the more, as those opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little moment, it must follow, that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with so much obstinacy as those

in religion, especially by such zealots, who never bore the least regard to religion, conscience, honour, justice, truth, mercy, or common morality farther than in outward appearance, under the mask of hypocrisy to promote their diabolical designs. And therefore bishop Burnet one of their oracles tells us honestly, that the *saints* of those fanatic times pronounced themselves above morality; which they reckoned among *beggary elements*; but the meaning of these two last words thus applied we confess to be above our understanding.

Among those kingdoms and states which first embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the most regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the supreme power of a king * and the three estates in parliament; to which as the highest legislative authority, all subjects are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much blood shed on so great a change of religion. But a considerable number of lords, and other persons of quality through the kingdom, still continued in their old faith, and were, notwithstanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or less in every reign, until the test act in the time of king Charles II. However, from the time of the reformation, the number of *catholics* gradually and considerably lessened. So that in the reign of king Charles I. England became in a great degree a protestant kingdom, without taking the sectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with respect to human laws, the *catholics* never disputed; but the *puritans*, and other schismatics, without the least pretence to any such authority, by an open rebellion destroyed that legal reformation, as we observed before, murdered their king, and changed the monarchy into a republic. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the *catholics*, in such a Babel of religions, chose to adhere to their own faith left them by their ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion be an gged by the supreme legislative power, we cannot dis-

* Henry VIII.

pute the human legality of such a change. But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable party of men which differs from an establishment, either old or new, can deserve liberty of conscience, it ought to consist of those, who for want of conviction, or of right understanding the merits of each cause, conceive themselves bound in conscience to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; because they are of all others least likely to be authors of innovations either in church or state.

On the other side; if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion against the king, without whose consent by the nature of our constitution no law can pass; if this reformation be introduced by only one of the three estates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of those commons, and this by the assistance of a rebellious army; again if this reformation were carried on by the exclusion of nobles both lay and spiritual, (who constitute the other part of the three estates) by the murder of their king and by abolishing the whole system of government; the *catholics* cannot see why the successors of those schismatics, who are universally accused by all parties except themselves, and a few infamous abettors, for still retaining the same principles in religion and government, under which their predecessors acted; should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power than the *catholics*, who, during all that period of twenty years were continually persecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to those arguments for repealing the sacramental test, which equally affect the *catholics*, and their brethren the dissenters.

First, we agree with our fellow-dissenters, that * *persecution merely for conscience sake is against the genius of the gospel.* And so likewise is *any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men.* We are also ready enough to allow, that *the smallest negative discouragements for uniformity's sake are so many persecutions.* Because, it cannot be denied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a real wound,

* *Vid: Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test.*

as much as a stab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or justice of the peace, *merely on a point of conscience, is a negative discouragement*, and consequently a real persecution: for in this case, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the * margin puts a very pertinent and powerful question: *If God be the sole Lord of the conscience, why should the rights of conscience be subject to human jurisdiction?* Now to apply this to the catholics; the belief of transubstantiation is a matter purely of religion and conscience, which doth not affect the political interest of society, as such: therefore, *why should the rights of conscience, whereof God is the sole Lord, be subject to human jurisdiction?* And why should God be deprived of this right over a catholic's conscience, any more than over that of any other dissenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the dissenters hath very justly complained, that by this persecuting test act great numbers of *true protestants* have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here *branded* with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the catholics can bring many more instances of the same kind; some thousands of their religion having been forced by the sacramental test to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing swords, sitting in parliament, and getting share of that power and profit which belong to them as *fellow Christians*, whereof they are deprived *merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy*. Hence it clearly follows in the words of the same † author, that *if we catholics are incapable of employments, we are punished for our dissent, that is, for our conscience, which wholly turns upon political considerations*.

The catholics are willing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, whenever their brethren the dissenters shall please to shew them an example.

* See reasons against the test.

† Idem.

Further,

FOR REPEALING THE TEST. 303

Further, the *catholics*, whenever their religion shall come to be the national established faith, are willing to undergo the same *test* offered by the author already quoted. His words are these: *To end this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial person a fair and equitable one; we catholics propose, with submission to the proper judges, that effectual security be taken against persecution by obliging all, who are admitted into places of power and trust, whatever their religious profession be, in the most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting principles.* It is hoped the public will take notice of these words; *whatever their religious profession be*; which plainly include the *catholics*; and for which we return thanks to our *dissenting brethren*.

And whereas it is objected by those of the established church, that if the schismatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of possessing civil and military employments, they would never be at ease, till they had raised their own way of worship into the national religion through all his majesty's dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scottish kirk*; which when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow liberty of conscience to episcopal dissenters, than they did in the time of the great English rebellion, and in the succeeding fanatic anarchy, till the king was restored. There is another very learned schismatical* pamphleteer, who in answer to a malignant libel called, *The presbyterian plea of merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this aspersion, by assuring all episcopal protestants of the present church upon his own word, and to his own knowledge, that our brethren the dissenters will never offer at such an attempt. In like manner the *catholics*, when legally required, will openly declare upon their words and honours, that as soon as their negative discouragements and their persecution shall be removed by repealing the sacramental test, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cause, whether the kingdom shall think fit to make their faith the established religion or not.

* Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters.

And again, whereas our *presbyterian* brethren in many of their pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected against them both in and out of season, by our common enemy the present conformists; we do declare in the defence of our said brethren, that the reproach aforesaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare cant*, which they always disdained to answer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain conformist, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on so beaten a subject; he was pleased to divert the discourse with a foolish story, which I cannot forbear telling to his disgrace. He said, there was a clergyman in Yorkshire, who for fifteen years together preached every Sunday against drunkenness: whereat the parishioners being much offended, complained to the archbishop; who having sent for the clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the minister had no better an answer, than by confessing the fact; adding, that all the parish were drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and since they still continued to be as great drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an accusation lieth upon the *catholics* of Ireland; that some years before king Charles II. was restored, when theirs and the king's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the *rump* to be settled; after all his majesty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the said *catholics* who remained here in an enslaved condition, joined to send an invitation to the Duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which after the restoration was proved against them by dean Boyle, since primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The *catholics* freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced

reduced to slavery and beggary by the English rebels, many thousands of men murdered, the rest deprived of their estates and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of Connaught; at a time when either the *rump* or Cromwell absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the *catholics*, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious covenant as the *rump*. And I have often heard not only our friends the dissenters, but even our common enemy the conformists, who are conversant in the history of those times, freely confess, that considering the miserable situation the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least to the recovery of England and Scotland from those betrayers and sellers and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the last quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great mistake: for the first original BRAND hath been long taken off; only we confess the scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those who know the principles by which they acted, and until those principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all generations, like the mark set upon Cain, which some authors say descended to all his posterity; or like the Roman nose and Austrian lip, or like the long bag of flesh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any *brands* fixed on schismatics for several years past, they have been all made with *cold iron*; like thieves who by the BENEFIT OF THE CLERGY are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but escape the pain and the mark by being in *fee* with the JAYLOR. Which advantage the schismatical teachers will never want; who as we are assured, and of which there

306 ROMAN CATHOLICS REASONS, ETC.

there is a *very fresh instance*, have the souls and bodies and purses of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, than the *catholic* priests could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the *catholics* do humbly petition (*without the least insinuation of threatening*) that upon this *favourable* juncture their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same reasons (besides others more cogent) that are now offered by their *brethren* the *dissenters*.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, etc.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controversy the author was again victorious, for the *test* was not repealed. *Hawkes.*

Some

Some REASONS against the BILL for settling the
tythe of *Hemp, Flax*, etc. by a *Modus* *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cause of complaint against the present house of commons; who in the last sessions were pleased to throw out a bill † sent them from the lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it passed into a law: and who in the present sessions defeated the arts and endeavours of *schismatics* to repeal the *sacramental test*.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of those bills might by its necessary consequences be very displeasing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom for many reasons purely secular; and that this last attempt for repealing the *test* did much more affect at present the temporal interest, than the spiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both those occasions, expressed equal gratitude to that honourable house for their justice and steadiness, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

It must needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that such an assembly as the present house of commons should now, with an expedition more than usual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture

* Many eminent clergymen, who opposed this scheme, applied to Dr Swift to write against it, which he readily consented to upon their giving him some hints; and two days after the following reasons were presented to several members of parliament, which had so good an effect that the bill was dropped.
Hawkesf.

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. But I cannot avoid observing in it, a greater fund of calmness, not a less degree of spirit, than in many other of Swift's political writings. *Orrery.*

† For the bishops to divide livings. *Hawkesf.*

with

with a clause, whereby the church is to lose two parts in three of the legal tythe in flax and hemp.

Some reasons why the clergy think such a law will be a great hardship upon them are, I conceive, those that follow. I shall venture to enumerate them with all deference due to that honourable assembly.

First, the clergy suppose that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the displeasure of the nation's representatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the present set, from the highest prelate to the lowest vicar, be in the least disputed: because there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the same merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom residing some part of the year at his country seat, who is not in his own conscience fully convinced, that the tythes of his minister have gradually sunk for some years past one third, or at least one fourth of their former value, exclusive of all non-solvencies.

The payment of tythes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from *papists* and *dissenters*, but even from those who profess themselves *protestants*; that by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tythes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often consist of large domains: and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone must be the sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thousand pounds a year paid by the public for a farther encouragement to the said manufacture, are not the clergy equal sharers in the charge

charge with the rest of their fellow subjects? What satisfactory reason can be therefore given, why they alone should bear the whole additional weight, unless it will be alleged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men. They acquire their own small pittance by at least as honest means as their neighbours, the landlords, possess their estates; and have been always supposed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title: for no families now in being can shew a more ancient. Indeed if it be true, that some persons (I hope they were not many) were seen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this case an opinion may possibly be soon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion, as the contempt of all religion shall increase, which is already in a very forward way.

It is said, there will be also added in this bill a clause for diminishing the tythe of hops, in order to cultivate that useful plant among us: and here likewise the load is to lie entirely on the shoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be easy to foresee where such proceedings are like to stop: or whether by the same authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as justly challenge the same power in reducing all things tythable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a sixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by skilful persons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament without their own consent is a new thing, not much above the date of seventy years: before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themselves. But things are extremely altered at present: it is not now sufficient to tax them in common with their fellow subjects, without imposing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow subjects are exempt; and this in a country professing *christianity*.

The greatest part of the clergy throughout this kingdom have been stripped of their glebes by the confusion of times, by violence, fraud, oppression, and other unlawful

ful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords for a small piece of ground in their parishes, at a most exorbitant rent, and usually for a short term of years, whereon to build a house, and enable them to reside. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, I am a witness, that they are generally more constant residents than their brethren in England; where the meanest vicar hath a convenient dwelling with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; besides the certainty of his little income from honest farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewise to make him presents, according to their ability, for his better support. In all which circumstances the clergy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable house will consider, that it is impossible for the most ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman to do the least injustice to the meanest cottager in his parish in any bargain for tythes, or other ecclesiastical dues. He can at the utmost only demand to have his tythe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the poorest cottager to the most substantial farmer, can, and generally doth, impose upon the minister, by fraud, by theft, by lyes, by perjuries, by insolence, and sometimes by force; notwithstanding the utmost vigilance and skill of himself and his proctor. Insomuch, that it is allowed that the clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one tenth amounts to two hundred thousand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding those of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they should each of them possess two hundred pounds a year, if those tythes were equally divided, although in well cultivated corn countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that sum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty considerable, but if these and all the rest were in like manner equally divided, they would not add
five

five pounds a year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be justly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burthen, which neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradesmen, nor farmers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I say, is submitted to the honourable house.

One terrible circumstance in this bill is, that of turning the tythe of *flax* and *hemp* into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain sum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many parishes by ancient custom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almost incredible sufferers. Thus in the present case the tythe of a tolerable acre of *flax*, which by a medium is worth twelve shillings, is by the present bill reduced to four shillings. Neither is this the worst part in a *modus*; every determinate sum must in process of time sink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary fall attending the value of money, which is now at least nine tenths lower all over Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at least within our own memories, in purchasing almost every thing required for the necessities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can attest, who hath kept house for twenty years past. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an impossibility that this kingdom should ever thrive under its present disadvantages, which without a miracle must still increase; yet when the whole cash of the nation shall sink to fifty thousand pounds, we must in all our traffic abroad either of import or export go by the general rate, at which money is valued in those countries, that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reason no corporation (if the clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity upon any consideration whatsoever; which is a rock that many corporations have split upon to their great impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter undoing; because they are supposed to subsist for ever, and because no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic value. This is known enough in England, where estates let for ever, some hundred years ago,

ago, by several ancient noble families, do not at this present pay their posterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an easy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full share in all parliamentary impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a punishment upon that body of men, which is taxed, for some great demerit or danger to the public apprehended from those upon whom it is laid: thus the *papists* and *non-jurors* have been doubly taxed for refusing to give proper securities to the government; which cannot be objected against the clergy. And therefore if this bill should pass, I think it ought to be with a preface, shewing wherein they have offended, and for what disaffection or other crime they are punished.

If an additional excise upon ale, or a duty upon flesh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, or baker would bear any more of the charge than for what themselves consumed, but it would be an equal general tax through the whole kingdom: whereas by this bill the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undisputed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture by which all the rest of the kingdom are supposed to be gainers.

This bill is directly against *magna charta*, whereof the first clause is for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our kings at their coronation, where they swear to defend and protect the church in all rights.

A tax laid upon employments is a very different thing. The possessors of civil and military employments are no corporation; neither are they any part of our constitution; their salaries, pay and perquisites are all changeable at the pleasure of the prince who bestows them, although the army be paid from funds raised and appropriated by the legislature. But the clergy, as they have little reason to expect, so they desire no more than their ancient legal dues; only indeed with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them; which it is to be feared they must wait for until more favourable times. It is well known that they have already, of their own accord, shewn great indulgence to their people upon this
very

very article of *flax*, seldom taking above a fourth part of their tythe for small parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new beginners: waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until great quantities of land were employed in that part of husbandry; never suspecting that their good intentions should be perverted in so singular a manner to their detriment by that very assembly, which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our constitution, ever since *christianity* became national among us) are thought fit to be suspended, God knows for what reason, or from what provocations; I say from that very assembly, who, during the intervals of convocations, should rather be supposed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the least attempt upon either.

I have not heard upon enquiry, that any of those gentlemen, who among us without doors are called the court-party, discover the least zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would shew their displeasure against this bill, which must very much lessen the value of the king's patronage upon promotion to vacant sees, in the disposal of deanries, and other considerable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to bestow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a sufficient stock of that sort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times most prevail.

The *dissenters*, by not succeeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the *test*, have lost nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the least offence, are by this bill deprived of a considerable branch of their ancient legal rights, whereby the schismatical party will have the pleasure of gratifying their revenge—*hoc Graii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, because when his present lease shall expire, his landlord will infallibly raise the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where *flax* is sown, and have so much a better security for payment at the expence of the clergy.

If we judge by things past, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty

years. For no landlord will ever consent that a law shall expire, by which he finds himself a gainer; and of this there are many examples as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill is by proper encouragement to extend the linen manufacture into those countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of *lessening the tythe of flax and hemp* is one of such a kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Because, if I am rightly informed, no set of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more industrious and successful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by persuading their people to sow *flax* and *hemp*, by procuring seed for them, and by having them instructed in the management thereof; and this they did not without reasonable hopes of increasing the value of their parishes after some time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the public. But if this *modus* should take place, the clergy will be so far from gaining, that they will become losers by their extraordinary care, by having their best arable lands turned to *flax* and *hemp*, which are reckoned great impoverishers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed, if they should shew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their parishes, as they hitherto have shewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, some of them have already declared, at least so far as to resolve not to give themselves any more trouble than other men, about promoting a manufacture, by the success of which they only of all men are to be sufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further encouragement than the law doth, as it now stands, to a set of men who might on many accounts be so useful to this purpose, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually answered: but this is what they are far from desiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the same footing with the rest of their fellow-subjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to pass into a law, it were to be wished, that the same law would not only appoint one or more sworn surveyors in each parish to measure the lands, on which *flax* and *hemp* are sown, but

but also settle the price of surveying, and determine whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual survey. Without something of this kind there must constantly be disputes between them, and the neighbouring justices of peace must be teized as often as those disputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was sent to me with several reasons against the bill, some whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the rest did not occur to me. I shall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tythes are the patrimony of the church; and if not of divine original, yet at least of great antiquity.

II. That all purchases and leases of tytheable lands, for many centuries past, have been made and taken, subject to the demand of tythes, and those lands sold and taken just so much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tythes, or the legal demands of such tythes lessened by act of parliament, so much value is taken from the proprietor of the tythes, and vested in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending person can be so deprived of his property without the greatest violation of common justice.

V. That to do this upon a prospect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very mistaken and unjust supposition; inasmuch as the price of the lands so occupied, will be no way lessened to the farmer by such a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any burden in common with their fellow subjects, either for the support of his majesty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation, but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier taxes than others at a time, when by the decrease of the value of their parishes they are less able to bear them.

VII. That the legislature hath heretofore distinguished the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads, and the present clergy of the kingdom hope they have

not deserved worse of the legislature than their predecessors.

VIII. That by the original constitution of these kingdoms, the clergy had the sole right of taxing themselves, and were in possession of that right as low as the restoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the commons by the cession of the clergy, the commons can be considered in this case in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That besides those tythes always in the possession of the clergy, there are some portions of tythes lately come into their possession by purchase; that if this clause should take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of these purchasers upon an equal foot of advantage with the rest of their fellow-subjects. And that some tythes in the hands of impropiators are under settlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this house should consider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and,

Lastly, That if it were at any time just and proper to do this, it would however be too severe to do it now, when all the tythes of the kingdom are known for some years past to have sunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy is at least as useful to the public as the same income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reasonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional support, than to diminish their present subsistence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Englishmen; nothing left for the younger sons of Irishmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, *etc.* therefore no reason to make them worse.

The *modus* upon the *flax* in England affects only lands reclaimed since the year 1690, and is at the rate of five shillings the English acre, which is equivalent to eight shillings and eight pence Irish, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture

facture of little consequence in England, but is the staple in Ireland, and if it increases (as it probably will) must in many places jostle out corn, because it is more gainful.

The clergy of the established church have no interest like those of the church of Rome, distinct from the true interest of their country, and therefore ought to suffer under no distinct impositions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for settling the *modus* of *flax* in England, was brought in the first year of the reign of king George. I. when the clergy lay very unjustly under the imputation of some disaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of some fens in Lincolnshire which were not to be continued under *flax*; but it left all lands where *flax* had been sown before that time under the same condition of tything, in which they were before the passing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually possessed of.

That the woolen manufacture is the staple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tythe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with six pence a garden, and some have taken nothing.

Employments, they say, have been taxed; the reasons for which taxation will not hold with regard to property, at least till employments become inheritances. The commons always have had so tender a regard to property, that they never would suffer any law to pass, whereby any particular persons might be aggrieved without their own consent.

N. B. *Some alterations have been made in the bill about the modus, since the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.*

A modest PROPOSAL for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a burden to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public.

IT is a melancholy object to those, who walk through this great town, or travel in the country, when they see the *streets*, the *roads* and *cabbin-doors* crowded with *beggars* of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, *all in rags*, and importuning every passer-by for an alms. These *mothers*, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling, to beg sustenance for their *helpless infants*, who as they grow up, either turn *thieves* for want of work, or leave their *dear native country* to fight for the pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their *mothers*, and frequently of their *fathers*, is in the present deplorable state of the kingdom a very great additional grievance; and therefore whoever could find out a fair, cheap and easy method of making these children sound and useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public, as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of *professed beggars*: it is of a much greater extent, and shall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several *schemes* of our projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation.

It is true, a child *just dropt from its dam* may be supported by her milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment: at most not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in *scraps*, by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as instead of being a charge upon their *parents*, or the *parish*, or *wanting food and raiment* for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those *voluntary abortions*, and that horrid practice of *women murdering their bastard children*, alas! too frequent among us, sacrificing the *poor innocent babes*, I doubt more to avoid the expence than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple, whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract thirty thousand couple, who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be so many under the *present distresses of the kingdom*) but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I again subtract fifty thousand for those women, who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs, is utterly impossible by all the methods hitherto proposed. For we can *neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture*; we neither build houses, (I mean in the country) nor cultivate land: they can very seldom pick up a livelihood *by stealing*, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardsly parts; although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as *probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the

county of Cavan, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom *so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art.*

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no saleable commodity; and even when they come to this age they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at most, on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nursed, is at a year a old most delicious nourishing and wholesome food, whether *stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled*; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a *fricassée*, or a *ragout*.

I do therefore humbly offer it to *public consideration*, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to *sheep, black cattle, or swine*; and my reason is, that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, *a circumstance not much regarded by our savages*, therefore, *one male* will be sufficient to serve four females. That the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of *quality and fortune* through the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in *winter*.

I have reckoned upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will encrease to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured

voured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants' flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author *, an eminent French physician, that *fish being a prolific dyet*, there are more children born in Roman catholic countries about nine months after Lent, than at any other season; therefore reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual; because the number of *popish infants* is at least three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage by lessening the number of *papists* among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four-fifths of the farmers) to be about two shillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the *carcase of a good fat child*, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat, when he hath only some particular friend or his own family to dine with him. Thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grew popular among his tenants, the mother will have eight shillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till she produces another child.

Those, who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require) may flay the carcase; the skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for this purpose in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dressing them hot from the knife, as we do *roasting pigs*.

A very worthy person, a true lover of his country, and whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my scheme. He said, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late destroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of venison might be well supplied by the bodies of

* Rabelais.

young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; so great a number of both sexes in every county being now ready to starve for want of work and service; and these to be disposed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwise by their nearest relations. But, with due deference to so excellent a friend, and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments; for, as to the males, my American acquaintance assured me, from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our school-boys, by continual exercise, and their taste disagreeable, and to fatten them would not answer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble submission, *be a loss to the public*, because they soon would become breeders themselves: and besides, it is not improbable, that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice, (although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended.

But in order to justify my friend, he confessed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanaazor, a native of the island Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago; and, in conversation, told my friend, that in his country, when any young person happened to be put to death, the executioner sold the carcase to *persons of quality* as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poison the Emperor, was sold to his imperial Majesty's Prime Minister of State, and other great mandarins of the court, *in joints from the gibbet*, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without one single groat to their fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at a *play-house* and *assemblies* in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ
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my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known, that they are every day *dying*, and *rotting*, by *cold* and *famine*, and *filth* and *vermin*, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal, which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the highest importance.

For, *first*, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of *papists*, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country, than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an *episcopal curate*.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundred thousand children, from two years old and upwards, cannot be computed at less than ten shillings apiece *per annum*, the nation's stock will be thereby increased fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, besides the profit of a new dish introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taste. And the money will circulate among ourselves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The constant breeders, besides the gain of eight shillings *sterling per annum* by the sale of their children,

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dren, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the first year.

Fifthly, This food would likewise bring great *custom to taverns*; where the vintners will certainly be so prudent as to procure the best receipts for dressing it to perfection, and consequently have their houses frequented by all the *fine gentlemen*, who justly value themselves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a skilful cook, who understands how to oblige his guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would encrease the care and tenderness of mothers towards their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the public, to their annual profit instead of expence. We should soon see an honest emulation among the married women, *which of them could bring the fattest child to the market*. Men would become as *fond* of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their *mares* in foal, their *cows* in calf, or *sows* when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as it is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miscarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For instance, the addition of some thousand carcases in our exportation of barreled beef: the propagation of *swines flesh*, and improvement in the art of making good *bacon*, so much wanted among us by the great destruction of *pigs*, too frequent at our tables; which are no way comparable in taste or magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which roasted whole will make a considerable figure at a *Lord mayor's feast*, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being studious of brevity.

Supposing that one thousand families in this city would be constant customers for infants flesh, besides others who might have it at *merry meetings*, particularly at *weddings* and *christenings*, I compute, that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thousand carcases; and the rest of the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand.

I can

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for *this one individual kingdom of IRELAND*, and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth. Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients: of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: of using neither cloaths, nor household furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments, that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women: of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance: of learning to love our country, in the want of which we differ even from LAPLANDERS, and the inhabitants of TOPINAMBOO: of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious not to sell our country and consciences for nothing: of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy towards their tenants: lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shop-keepers, who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients *, till he hath at least some glimpse of hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice.

* These expedients had been proposed before, some of them by the Dean, and to urge the practice of them by *showing the only alternative*, seems to have been the design of this paper. *Hawkes.*

But,

But, as to myself, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it hath something solid and real, of no expence and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in *disobliging* ENGLAND. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, *although perhaps, I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.*

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better, I desire the author or authors will be pleased maturely to consider two points. *First*, As things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for a hundred thousand useles mouths and backs. And *secondly*, There being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence, put into a common stock, would leave them in debt two millions of pounds *sterling*, adding those, who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the *oppression of landlords, the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor cloaths to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like, or greater miseries, upon their breed for ever.*

I profess in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary

necessary work, having no other motive than the *public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich.* I have no children, by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past child-bearing.

[1328]
To the Honourable house of Commons, &c.

The humble PETITION of the FOOTMEN in
and about the city of Dublin.

Written in the year 1732.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your *petitioners* are a great and numerous *society*, endowed with several privileges time out of mind.

That certain *lewd, idle, and disorderly* persons for several months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the public walks of this city, habited sometimes in *green coats*, and sometimes *laced*, with long *oaken cudgels* in their hands, and, without swords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent those walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be true genuine Irish *footmen*; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *toupees*, as a judicious eye may soon discover, by their *awkward, clumsy, ungentle* gait and behaviour; by their unskilfulness in dress even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of *impudence* and *dulness* peculiar to the rest of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that transcendent pitch of assurance; although it may be justly apprehended, that they will do so in time, if these *counterfeits* shall happen to succeed in their evil design of passing for *real footmen*, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the ladies.

Your *petitioners* do farther alledge, that many of the said *counterfeits*, upon a strict examination, have been found in the act of *strutting, staring, swearing, swaggering*, in a manner that plainly shewed their best endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, although they did not succeed,

succeed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, the utmost indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole profession.

Your *petitioners* do therefore make it their humble request, that this *honourable house* (to many of whom your *petitioners* are nearly allied) will please to take this grievance into your most serious consideration: humbly submitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain *officers* might at the public charge be employed to search for, and discover all such *counterfeit footmen*; to carry them before the next *justice* of peace, by whose warrant, upon the first conviction, they should be stripped of their *coats* and *oaken* ornaments, and be set two hours in the stocks; upon the second conviction, besides stripping, be set six hours in the stocks, with a paper pinned on their breasts, signifying their crime, in large capital letters, and in the following words: *A. B. commonly called A. B. Esq; a toupee, and a notorious impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish footman.*

And for any other offence, the said *toupee* shall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be set at liberty till he shall have given sufficient security for his good behaviour.

Your *honours* will please to observe, with what lenity we propose to treat these enormous offenders, who have already brought such a scandal on our *honourable calling*, that several well-meaning people have mistaken them to be of our *fraternity*, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have supported our station, as we always did, in the *worst of times*. And we farther beg leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a *sedition* design, to render us less capable of serving the *public* in any great employments, as several of our *fraternity*, as well as our *ancestors*, have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your *honours* to give necessary orders for our relief in this present exigency, and your *petitioners* (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

A PROPOSAL for giving badges to the BEGGARS in all the parishes of Dublin.

By the Dean of St Patrick's.

Written in the year 1737.

IT hath been a general complaint, that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new-modelled by the legislature; not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two deans, who are of course put into most commissions that relate to the city; and I have likewise the honour to have been left out of several commissions upon the score of party, in which my predecessors time out of mind have always been members.

The first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other citizens; the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving the old commission, and establishing a new one of near three times the number, have been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless, but a grievance instead of a benefit to the city. In the present commission all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of 'Squires, not only those who reside in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but several who live at a great distance, and cannot possibly have the least concern for the advantage of the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attended since the new establishment, I observed very little was done except one or two acts of extreme justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared: and I have found the court of assistants usually taken up in little
 . wrangles

wrangles about coachmen, or adjusting accounts of meal and small beer ; which, however necessary, might sometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment, I mean some schemes recommended to the general board for answering the chief ends in erecting and establishing such a poor-house, and endowing it with so considerable a revenue : and the principal end I take to have been that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the parishes are not able to do it ; and clearing the streets from all strollers, foreigners, and sturdy beggars, with which, to the universal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infested since the establishment of the poor-house, than it was ever known to be since its first erection.

As the whole fund for supporting this hospital is raised only from the inhabitants of the city ; so there can be hardly any thing more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and bastards, or orphans, of farmers, whose country landlords never contributed one shilling towards their support. I would engage, that half this revenue, if employed with common care, and no very great degree of common honesty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a small number of original poor in every parish, who might, without being burthensome to the parishioners, find a tolerable support.

I have for some years past applied myself to several Lord-Mayors, and the late Archbishop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars ; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain proposal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every parish, who begged in the streets ; that the said beggars should be confined to their own parishes ; that they should wear their badges well sown upon one of their shoulders, always visible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town ; or whatever legal punishment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in some clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual disquiet, which they do not ill deserve ; and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of less consequence ; because the remedy is in their own power : but, all street-walkers

walkers and shop-keepers bear an equal share in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection against this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their several parishes. The objection was this: what shall we do with the foreign beggars? must they be left to starve? I answered, No; but they must be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country parish do as they please, or rather, after the practice in England, send them from one parish to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England still in force, every parish is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no such consequence in this point as some would make it, whether a country parish be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer parishes of the kingdom, all necessaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean butter-milk, oat-meal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himself a beggar, can sometimes spare a sup or a morsel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own parish, who is disabled from work. A beggar native of the parish is known to the Squire, to the church minister, to the popish priest, or the conventicle teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally some relations able to live, and contribute something to his maintenance. None of which advantages can be reasonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any) may get half their support by doing some kind of work in their power, and thereby be less burthensome to the people. In short, all necessaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equitable that beggars should put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But, when the spirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuisance to the whole country: he and his female are thieves, and teach the trade of stealing to their brood at four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeited, it is dangerous for a single person unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one country to another, but still

still with a view to this town, whither he arrives at last, and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder, that the country 'squires should be very willing to send up their colonies; but why the city should be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thousand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off, than in this town, or in any of its suburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing miseries of Ireland, as its capital city; to which miseries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual swarms of foreign beggars, who might be banished in a month without expence, and with very little trouble.

As I am personally acquainted with a great number of street-beggars, I find some weak attempts have been made in one or two parishes to promote the wearing of badges; and my first question to those who ask an alms is, *Where is your badge?* I have, in several years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, some out of their pockets, others from under their coat, and two or three on their shoulders, only covered with a sort of capes which they could lift up, or let down upon occasion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to steal, nor ashamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be seen with a badge, as many of them have confessed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon such an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether such wretches deserve to be relieved. As to myself, I must confess, this absurd insolence hath so affected me, that for several years past I have not disposed of one single farthing to a street beggar, nor intend to do so until I see a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to persuade all my brother-walkers to follow my example, which most of them assure me they do. For, if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deserve charity. However, as to persons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the persecution we suffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To

To say the truth, there is not a more undeserving vicious race of human-kind than the bulk of those who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For, as a great part of our public miseries is originally owing to our own faults (but what those faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention) so I am confident, that among the meaner people, nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving condition, did not become so by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleness, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenness, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever enquires, as I have frequently done, from those who have asked me an alms, what was their former course of life, will find them to have been servants in good families, broken tradesmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed housekeepers; but (to use their own cant) reduced by losses and crosses, by which nothing can be understood but idleness and vice.

As this is the only christian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty, and not the riches of the nation; so the blessing of *increase and multiply* is by us converted into a curse: and, as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, so we should be less miserable if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with christianity. It is seldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the servant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath saved up a stock of money sufficient to carry on his business; nor takes a wife without a suitable portion; and as seldom fails of making a yearly addition to that stock, with a view of providing for his children. But in this kingdom the case is directly contrary, where many thousand couples are yearly married, whose whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be sufficient to purchase a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-supper, nor have any prospect of supporting their *honourable state* but by service or labour, or thievery. Nay, their *happiness* is often deferred until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to steal, a shilling to pay their popish priest, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion

portion of wisdom would be required to find some kind of remedy against this destructive evil, or at least, not to draw the consequences of it upon our decaying city, the greatest part whereof must of course in a few years become desolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not absolutely barbarous, parents think themselves bound by the law of nature and reason to make some provision for their children; but the reason offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying is, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been for some time past extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for, it seems, they are grown so gracious as to transmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profess to mean real English beggars in the literal meaning of the word, as it is usually understood by protestants. It seems the justices of the peace and parish-officers in the western coasts of England have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their supernumerary beggars, in order to advance the English protestant interest among us; and these they are so kind to send over *gratis*, and duty-free. I have had the honour more than once to attend large cargoes of them from Chester to Dublin: and I was then so ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city should receive them into Bridewel, and, after a month's residence, having been well whipt twice a day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they should be returned honestly back with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved of, I proposed, that whereas one Englishman is allowed to be of equal intrinsic value with twelve born in Ireland, we should in justice return them a dozen for one to dispose of as they pleased.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their several parishes. For instance: a beggar of the parish of St Werburgh's, or any other parish here, if he be an object of compassion, hath an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand: because the inhabitants,

habitants, one or other, walk through every street in town, and give their alms, without considering the place, wherever they think it may be well disposed of: and these helps, added to what they get in eatables by going from house to house among the gentry and citizens, will, without being very burthensome, be sufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the suburb parishes will not have altogether the same advantage, because they are not equally in the road of business and passengers: but here it is to be considered, that the beggars there have not so good a title to public charity, because most of them are strollers from the country, and compose a principal part of that great nuisance which we ought to remove.

I should be apt to think, that few things can be more irksome to a city minister, than a number of beggars which do not belong to his district, whom he hath no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of those to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuse to any minister of a city-parish, he usually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he says, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as those beadles often keep alehouses, they find their account in such customers. This evil might easily be remedied, if the parishes would make some small addition to the salaries of a beadle, and be more careful in the choice of those officers. But, I conceive there is one effectual method in the power of every minister to put in practice; I mean, by making it the interest of all his own original poor to drive out intruders; for if the parish beggars were absolutely forbidden by the minister and church officers to suffer strollers to come into the parish, upon pain of themselves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houses and shops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indistinction of our city shop-keepers, who suffer their doors to be daily besieged by crowds of beggars (as the gates of a lord are by duns) to the great disgust and vexation of many customers, whom I have frequently observed to

go to other shops, rather than suffer such a persecution; which might easily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infest them.

Wherefore I do assert, that the shop-keepers, who are the greatest complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every customer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deserve what they suffer, when a 'prentice with a horse-whip is able to lash every beggar from the shop, who is not of the parish, and doth not wear the badge of that parish on his shoulder, well fastened, and fairly visible; and if this practice were universal in every house to all the sturdy vagrants, we should in a few weeks clear the town of all mendicants, except those who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be sufficient to give them nothing, and then they must starve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that first endowed this hospital, and those who afterwards contributed, as they were such who generally inhabited here, so they intended what they gave to be for the use of the city's poor. The revenues, which have been since raised by parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the least charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original design, than to misapply those revenues on strolling beggars or bastards from the country, which bears no share in the charges we are at.

If some of the out-parishes be over-burthened with poor, the reason must be, that the greatest part of those poor are strollers from the country, who nestle themselves where they can find the cheapest lodgings, and from thence infest every part of the town, out of which they ought to be whipped as a most insufferable nuisance, being nothing else but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual tax upon the city, which shares too deep in the public miseries brought on us by the oppressions we lie under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our fellow protestants, and fellow subjects.

Some time ago I was appointed one of a committee to enquire into the state of the workhouse; where we found

that a charity was bestowed by a great person for a certain time, which in its consequences operated very much to the detriment of the house; for, when the time was elapsed, all those who were supported by that charity continued on the same foot with the rest on the foundation; and, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretches from several parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the rest; so partial, or treacherous, or interested, or ignorant, or mistaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itself.

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city is charged upon the *bel-lowers* (as they are called) who find their accounts best in suffering those vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuse might easily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better salaries were given to those who execute that office in the several parishes, and would make it their interest to clear the town of those caterpillars, rather than hazard the loss of an employment that would give them an honest livelihood. But, if that should fail, yet a general resolution of never giving charity to a street beggar out of his own parish, or without a visible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond spirit in beggars, which ought to be discouraged, and severely punished. It is owing to the same causes that drove them into poverty; I mean, idleness, drunkenness, and rash marriages, without the least prospect of supporting a family by honest endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is observed, that hardly one beggar in twenty looks upon himself to be relieved by receiving bread, or other food; and they have in this town been frequently seen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given them, into the kennel; neither do they much regard cloaths, unless to sell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work: they want only ale, brandy, and other strong liquors, which cannot be had without money: and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had

I had some other thoughts to offer upon this subject. But as I am a desponder in my nature, and have tolerably well discovered the disposition of our people, who never will move a step towards easing themselves from any one single grievance; it will be thought, that I have already said too much, and to little or no purpose, which hath often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

April 22, 1737.

J. SWIFT.

ADVICE to the freemen of the city of Dublin, in the choice of a MEMBER to represent them in PARLIAMENT *.

THOSE few writers, who, since the death of alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they should proceed in electing a new representative for the next sessions, having laid aside their pens; I have reason to hope, that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly those who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a second, and a third time, before they come to a final determination upon what person they resolve to fix their choice.

I am told, there are only two persons, who set up for candidates; one is the present lord mayor †, and the other ‡, a gentleman of good esteem, and alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and possessed of a considerable office || under the crown. The question is, which of these two persons it will be most for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, so that my enquiries will be very impartial, and drawn only from the general character and situation of both.

In order to this, I must offer my countrymen and fellow citizens some reasons why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful at this juncture, upon whom they bestow their votes.

To perform this with more clearness, it may be proper to give you a short state of our unfortunate country.

* This piece was published in the year 1733; and as it may be useful upon a like occasion, we have here given it a place.

† Humphry French.

‡ John Macarell.

|| Register to the barracks.

We consist of two parties, I do not mean popish and protestant, high and low church, episcopal and sectarians, whig and tory ; but of those of English who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whose ancestors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the English crown) and the gentlemen sent from t'other side to possess most of the chief employments here : this latter party is very much enlarged and strengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil administration deposited in their hands : although for political ends, and to save appearances, some employments are still deposited (yet gradually in a smaller number) to persons born here : this proceeding, fortified with good words and many promises, is sufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might easily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for several years past with great prudence made precarious, and during pleasure ; by which means the possessors are, and must inevitably be, for ever dependant : yet those very few of any consequence, which being dealt with so sparing a hand to persons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who desire to mend their condition by the favour of those in power.

Now, my dear fellow citizens, how is it possible you can conceive, that any person, who holds an office of some hundred pounds a year, which may be taken from him whenever power shall think fit, will, if he should be chosen a member for any city, do the least thing when he sits in the house, that he knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him, or continue him in that office ? Believe me, these are no times to expect such an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. *Blazing stars* are much more frequently seen than such heroical worthies. And I could sooner hope to find ten thousand pounds by digging in my garden, than such a *phœnix* by searching among the present race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous as well as modern maxim of politics in the English nation, to take every opportunity of depressing Ireland, whereof an hun-

dred instances may be produced in points of the highest importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man : although many of the greatest persons among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their present successors.

But so the fact stands at present. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the house of commons) very seldom agree in any thing but their loyalty to his present majesty, their resolutions to make him and his viceroy easy in the government, to the utmost of their power, under the present condition of the kingdom. But the persons sent from England, who (to a trifle) are possessed of the sole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in possession who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopers, and promisees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon a universal submission to whatever shall be demanded ; wherein they act safely, because none of themselves, except the candidates, feel the least of our pressures.

I remember a person of distinction some days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our highest employments of all kinds, can never be possibly losers of one farthing by the greatest calamities that can befall this kingdom, except a plague that would sweep away a million of our *brewers of wood, and drawers of water* : or an invasion that would fright our grantees out of the kingdom. For this person argued, that while there was a penny left in the treasury, the civil and military list must be paid ; and that the episcopal revenues, which are usually farmed out at six times below the real value, could hardly fail. He insisted farther, that, as money diminished, the price of all necessaries for life must of consequence do so too, which would be for the advantage of all persons in employment, as well as of my lords the bishops, and to the ruin of every body else. Among the company there wanted not men in office, besides one or two expectants : yet I did not observe any of them disposed to return an answer : but the consequences
drawn

drawn were these: that the great men in power sent hither from the other side, were by no means upon the same foot with his majesty's other subjects of Ireland. They had no common ligament to bind them with us; they suffered not with our sufferings, and if it were possible for us to have any cause of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppose a person, born in this kingdom, shall happen by his services for the English interest to have an employment conferred on him worth four hundred pounds a year; and that he hath likewise an estate in land worth four hundred pounds a year more: suppose him to sit in parliament: then, suppose a land tax to be brought in of five shillings a pound for ten years; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He hath four hundred pounds a year in land: the tax he must pay yearly is one hundred pounds; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thousand pounds. But if he gives his vote against this tax, he will lose four thousand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment; and thus the balance will be against him three thousand pounds.

I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have so much virtue and self-denial, as to lose four hundred pounds a year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there is fought for power and riches: and so it is indeed among us: but, whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives; they do not send to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home: and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

The house of commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who should be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual by leaving the power of re-election. Our house of commons consists, I think, of about three hundred members; if one hundred of these should happen to be made up of persons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers, easy to be persuaded, such as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get something; if they be merry companions, without suspicion, of a natural bashfulness, not apt or able to look forwards; if good words, smiles, and caresses, have any power over them, the larger part of a second hundred may be very easily brought in at a most reasonable rate.

There is an Englishman * of no long standing among us, but in an employment of great trust, power, and profit. This excellent person did lately publish, at his own expence, a pamphlet printed in England by authority, to justify the bill for a general *excise*, or inland duty in order to introduce that blessed scheme among us. What a tender care must such an English patriot for Ireland have of our interest, if he should condescend to sit in our parliament? I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to see that mortal, who would with pleasure blow us up all at a blast: but, he duly receives his thousand pounds a year; makes his progress like a king; is received in pomp at every town † and village where he travels, and shines in the English news-papers.

I will now apply what I have said to you, my brethren, and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one person in office, of which he is not master for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of this country.

* Edward Thompson, Esq; member of parliament for York, and a commissioner of the revenue of Ireland.

† Mr Thompson was presented with his freedom of several corporations in Ireland.

One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honest gentleman, as the word honest is generally understood. But, he loves his employment better than he doth you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute or give him city security to pay him the value of his employment, if it should be taken from him, during his life, for voting on all occasions with the honest country party in the house? although I much question, whether he would do it, even upon that condition.

Wherefore, since there are but two candidates, I intreat you will fix on the present lord-mayor. He hath shewn more virtue, more activity, more skill, in one year's government of the city, than an hundred years can equal. He hath endeavoured with great success to banish frauds, corruptions, and all other abuses from amongst you.

A dozen such men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or solicit for any; his education having not turned him that way. I will assure for no man's future conduct; but he who hath hitherto practised the rules of virtue with so much difficulty, in so great and busy a station, deserves your thanks, and the best return you can make him; and you, my brethren, have no other to give him, than that of representing you in parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promises to another. Your promises were sins of inconsideration, at best; and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, although with good reputation, is already engaged on the other side. He hath four hundred pounds a year under the crown, which he is too wise to part with, by sacrificing so good an establishment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can assure you, the DRAPIER is in the interests of the present lord-mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare so in public company, and offer some of these very reasons in defence of his opinion; although he hath a regard and esteem for the other gentleman, but would not answer the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

The lord-mayor's severity to some unfair dealers, should not turn the honest men among them against him. Whatever he did, was for the advantage of those very traders whose dishonest members he punished. He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and therefore, as mankind goes, he is the most likely to act right as a representative of your city, as he constantly did in the government of it.

Some

Some CONSIDERATIONS humbly offered to
the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the
court of Aldermen and Common Council
of the Hon. city of Dublin, in the choice
of a RECORDER *.

THE office of recorder to this city being vacant by
the death of a very worthy gentleman: it is said,
that five or six persons are soliciting to succeed him in the
employment. I am a stranger to all their persons, and
to most of their characters; which latter, I hope, will
at this time be canvassed with more decency, than it some-
times happeneth upon the like occasions. Therefore, as
I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver
my thoughts, how the several persons and parties con-
cerned ought to proceed in electing a recorder for this
great and ancient city.

And first, as it is a very natural, so I can by no means
think it an unreasonable opinion, that the sons or near re-
lations of aldermen, and other deserving citizens, should
be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employ-
ment in the city's disposal: provided they be equally
qualified with other candidates; and, provided that such
employments require no more than common abilities and
common honesty. But, in the choice of a recorder, the
case is intirely different. He ought to be a person of
good abilities in his calling; of an unspotted character;
an able practitioner; one who hath occasionally merited
of this city before: he ought to be of some maturity in
years; a member of parliament, and likely to continue
so; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hano-

* Upon the death of Mr Stoyte, recorder of the city of Dublin,
in the year 1733, several gentlemen declared themselves can-
didates to succeed him: upon which the Dean wrote this
paper; and Eaton Stannard, Esq; (a gentleman of great worth
and honour, and very knowing in his profession,) was elected.

ver succession ; indulgent to tender consciences ; but, at the same time, a firm adherer to the established church. If he be such a one, who hath already sat in parliament, it ought to be enquired of what weight he was there ; whether he voted on all occasions for the good of his country ; and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city : whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious : and lastly, whether he be a man of courage ; not to be drawn from his duty by the frown or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.—These and many other particulars are of infinitely more consequence than that single circumstance of being descended by a direct or collateral line from any alderman, or distinguished citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or shop-keeper in this city of any substance, whose thriving, less or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion in parliament, that may the least affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the commons, as they are a numerous body, so they seem to be most concerned in point of interest ; and their interest ought to be most regarded, because it altogether dependeth upon the true interest of the city. They have no private views ; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lie under no awe, or fear of disobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped, that they will duly consider, which of the candidates is most likely to advance the trade of themselves and their brother citizens ; to defend their liberties, both *in* and *out* of parliament, against all attempts of encroachment or oppression. And so God direct them in the choice of a recorder, who may for many years supply that important office with skill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people say, *Amen*.

The

THE LAST SPEECH and DYING WORDS of
EBENEZER ELLISTON, who was executed
the 2d day of May 1722 †.

Published at his desire, for the common good.

[About the time that the following speech was written, the town was much pestered with *street-robbers*; who, in a barbarous manner, would seize on gentlemen, and take them into remote corners, and after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this speech had so good an effect, that there have been very few robberies of that kind committed since.]

I Am now going to suffer the just punishment for my crimes, prescribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the constant custom, that those who come to this place should have speeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing, as they are carried to execution; and truly they are such speeches, that, although our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man ashamed to have such nonsense and false English charged upon him, even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors. However, having had an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession;

† This piece had a most excellent effect. The thieves, vagabonds, and all the lower class of people, thought it the real work of Ebenezer Elliston, who had received the grounds of a good education; and the style of this paper is so natural for a person in such circumstances, that it would almost deceive the nicest judgment. *Orrery.*

I have

I have been considering, ever since my commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occasion.

And first, I cannot say from the bottom of my heart, that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much so, for the bad success of my villainies in bringing me to this untimely end. For it is plainly evident, that after having some time ago obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade; my evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, although in compliance with my friends, I resolve to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have observed in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say farther from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to life, and made their escapes, as it sometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence at both times they went to the gallows to smite their breasts, and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wicked dispositions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public, than the mercy of the government in ever pardoning or transporting us; unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are sure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good; by the same rule, *That it is better to have but one fox in a farm than three or four.* But we generally make a shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by experience, that some hope we have of finding mercy, when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of those odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full: these wretches put us upon all mischief to feed their lusts and extravagancies:

vagancies : they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men, their advice is always not to spare if we are pursued ; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all ; and yet, if they can get any thing by it, are sure to be our betrayers.

Now, as I am a dying man, something I have done which may be of good use to the public. I have left with an honest man (and indeed the only honest man I was ever acquainted with) the names of all my wicked brethren, the present places of their abode, with a short account of the chief crimes they have committed ; in many of which I have been their accomplice, and heard the rest from their own mouths ; I have likewise set down the names of those we call our setters, of the wicked houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen goods. I have solemnly charged this honest man, and have received his promise upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing, or house-breaking, he will look into his list, and if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to send the whole paper to the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and hope they will take it.

In the paper abovementioned, which I left with my friend, I have also set down the names of several gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin streets for three years past : I have told the circumstances of those robberies ; and shewn plainly that nothing but the want of common courage was the cause of their misfortune. I have therefore desired my friend, that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the streets, he will get that relation printed and published with the first letters of those gentlemen's names, who by their own want of bravery are likely to be the cause of all the mischief of that kind, which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world without a short description of that kind of life, which I have led for some years past ; and is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted from our childhood, as to have no sense of goodness ; yet something heavy always hangs about us. I know not what it is, that we are never easy. We are half drunk among our whores and

and companions ; nor sleep sound, unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the day, a wise man would easily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained countenance ; often turning back, and slinking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, though I never saw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is however common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and soon squander it away on our vices in those houses that receive us ; for the master and mistress, and the very tapster, go snacks ; and besides make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, snuff-boxes, and the like ; we have customers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have seen a tankard worth fifteen pounds sold to a fellow in——street for twenty shillings ; and a gold watch for thirty. I have set down his name, and that of several others in the paper already mentioned. We have setters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by ; especially if he be any thing in drink. I believe in my conscience, that if an account were made of a thousand pounds in stolen goods ; considering the low rates we sell them at, the bribes we must give for concealment, the extortions of ale-house reckonings, and other necessary charges, there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this we must find cloaths for our whores, besides treating them from morning to night ; who in requital reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform against us, if we will not go out and look for more. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have heard it described by our clergy, the truest picture of it must be in the back-room of one of our ale-houses at midnight ; where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk ; from which time, until they are past their senses, is such a continued horrible noise of cursing, blasphemy, lewdness, scurrility, and brutish behaviour, such roaring and confusion,

confusion, such a clutter of mugs and pots at each other's heads; that Bedlam, in comparison, is a sober and orderly place. At last they all tumble from their stools and benches, and sleep away the rest of the night; and generally the landlord or his wife, or some other whore who has a stronger head than the rest, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be easy till we are drunk; and our drunkenness constantly exposes us to be more easily betrayed and taken.

This is a short picture of the life I have led; which is more miserable than that of the poorest labourer who works for four pence a day; and yet custom is so strong, that I am confident, if I could make my escape at the foot of the gallows, I should be following the same course this very evening. So that upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whose interest it is to root us out like wolves and other mischievous vermin, against which no fair play is required.

If I have done service to men in what I have said, I shall hope I have done service to God; and that will be better than a silly speech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly despise, and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am passing along the streets.

Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die like a man the death of a dog.

The INTELLIGENCER*.

N U M B E R I.

IT may be said, without offence to other *cities* of much greater consequence to the world, that our town of Dublin doth not want its due proportion of *folly* and *vice* both native and imported; and as to those

* The *Intelligencer* was a weekly paper undertaken by the dean and Dr Sheridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers were ever published. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, some verses in the 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were written by the Dean. The 5th, and 7th, are put together and printed as they were published by Mr Pope in the 4th volume of their miscellanies, under the title of *An Essay on the fates of clergymen*, vol. 7. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue between *mad Meulynox and Timothy*, which is printed, as it was also classed by Mr Pope, in vol. 6th. The 9th he intitled *An essay on modern education*, and by that name it will be found in vol. 7th; the verses at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and the Fables*, are printed in vol. 7th. The 15th is a pamphlet which Dr Sheridan, having written a short introduction, took into the *Intelligencer*, merely to save the labour of writing a paper. It is printed in volume 3. and intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland*. No. 19. is also a tract which has been before published by itself, and was taken into the *Intelligencer* for the same reason as the former. The dean and the doctor soon became weary of a periodical work, in which they were disappointed of assistance: the price was but one halfpenny; and so few were sold, that the printer could not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifications to work up such hints as should be sent him; of which there were enough, and which the undertakers hoped thus to communicate with less labour to the public. The *Intelligencers* were collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730. See letter 62. vol. 8.

imported,

imported, we have the advantage to receive them last, and consequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But, because there are many effects of *folly* and *vice* among us, whereof some are *general*, others confined to smaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few *individuals*; there is a *society* lately established, who at great expence have erected an *office of intelligence*, from which they are to receive weekly information of all *important events* and *singularities*, which this famous *metropolis* can furnish. Strict injunctions are given to have the truest information; in order to which, certain qualified persons are employed to attend upon duty in their several posts; some at the *play-house*, others in *churches*, some at *balls*, *assemblies*, *coffee-houses*, and *meetings* for *quadrille*; some at the several *courts of justice*, both *spiritual* and *temporal*; some at the *college*, some upon my *lord mayor* and *aldermen* in their public affairs; lastly, some to converse with *favourite chamber-maids*, and to frequent those *ale-houses* and *brandy-shops* where the *footmen* of great families meet in a morning; only the * *Barracks* and *parliament-house* are excepted; because we have yet found no † *enfants perdus* bold enough to venture their persons at either. Out of these and some other *store-houses*, we hope to gather materials enough to *inform*, or *divert*, or *correct*, or *wex* the town.

But as *facts*, *passages*, and adventures of all kinds are like to have the greatest share in our *paper*, whereof we cannot always answer for the truth; due care shall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all just offence will be removed; for if none be guilty, none will have cause to blush or be angry; if otherwise, then the guilty person is safe for the future upon his *present* amendment, and safe for the *present* from all but his *own conscience*.

There is another resolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general discontent, and is of so singular a nature, that I have hardly confidence

* Barracks, Buildings for the lodgment of soldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, Forlorn hope. See preface to the bishop of Sarum's introduction, Vol. 7.

enough

enough to mention it, although it be absolutely necessary by way of apology for *so bold and unpopular an attempt*. But so it is, that we have taken a desperate council to produce into the world every distinguished action either of *justice, prudence, generosity, charity, friendship, or public spirit*, which comes well attested to us. And although we shall neither here be so daring as to assign names, yet we shall hardly forbear to give some hints, that perhaps, to the great displeasure of such deserving persons, may endanger a discovery. For we think that even *virtue itself* should submit to such a *mortification*, as by its *visibility* and example will render it more useful to the world. But however, the *readers* of these *papers* need not be in pain of being overcharged with so dull and ungrateful a subject. And yet who knows, but such an occasion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have settled a correspondence round the *kingdom*.

But after all our boasts of *materials* sent us by our several *emissaries*, we may probably soon fall short, if the town will not be pleased to lend us further assistance towards entertaining itself. The *world* best knows its own *faults* and *virtues*, and whatever is sent shall be faithfully returned back, only a little embellished according to the custom of *AUTHORS*. We do therefore *demand* and *expect* continual *advertisements* in great numbers to be sent to the *PRINTER* of this *paper*, who hath employed a *judicious secretary* to collect such as may be most useful for the *public*.

And although we do not intend to expose our own persons by mentioning names, yet we are so far from requiring the same caution in our *correspondence*, that on the contrary we expressly *charge* and *command* them, in all the facts they send us to set down the names, titles, and places of abode at length; together with a very particular description of the *persons, dresses, dispositions* of the several *lords, ladies, 'squires, madams, lawyers, gamesters, toupees, jots, wits, rakes, and informers*, whom they shall have occasion to mention; otherwise it will not be possible for us to adjust our style to the different qualities, and capacities of the persons concerned, and treat them with the *respect* or *familiarity*, that may be due to their *stations* and *characters*, which we are determined to observe

observe with the utmost strictness, that none may have cause to complain.

NUMBER III.

Ipse per omnes

Ibit personas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THE *players* having now almost done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the season; it may be no unpleasant speculation, to reflect a little upon this *dramatic piece*, so singular in the subject and manner, so much an original, and which hath frequently given so very agreeable an entertainment *.

Although an evil taste be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great, that the dislikers out of dulness or affectation will be silent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean, is what we call *humour*; which in its perfection is allowed to be much preferable to *wit*; if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our English *tongue*; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English *nation*, because the contrary may be found in many Spanish, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever hath a *taste* for *true humour* will find an hundred instances of it in those volumes printed in France under the name of *Le Theatre Italien*; to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now I take the *comedy*, or *farce*, (or whatever name the *critics* will allow it) called the Beggar's Opera to excel in this article of *humour*; and upon that merit to have met with such prodigious success, both here and in England.

As to *poetry*, *eloquence*, and *music*, which are said to have most power over the minds of men; it is certain that

* See letters to and from Dr Swift, vol. 8.

very few have a *taste* or *judgment* of the excellencies of the two former ; and if a man succeed in either, it is upon the authority of those *few judges*, that lend their *taste* to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in *music* ; and that among those who crowd the *operas*, nine in ten go thither merely out of *curiosity*, *fashion*, or *affectation*.

But a *taste* for *humour* is in some manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon subjects too refined, and superior to their understanding.

And, as this *taste* of *humour* is purely natural, so is *humour* itself ; neither is it a *talent* confined to men of *wit* or *learning* ; for we observe it sometimes among common servants, and the meanest of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they possess.

I know very well, that this happy *talent* is contemptibly treated by *critics* under the name of *low humour*, or *low comedy* ; but I know likewise that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the most wit of any nations in Europe, do most excel in it, and do most esteem it.

By what disposition of the mind, what influence of the stars, or what situation of the *climate*, this endowment is bestowed upon mankind, may be a question fit for *philosophers* to discuss. It is certainly the best ingredient towards that kind of satire, which is most useful and gives the least offence ; which, instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies and vices ; and is the character, that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And, although some things are too serious, solemn, or sacred to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuses of them are certainly not ; since it is allowed that corruptions in *religion*, *politics*, and *law*, may be proper *topics* for this kind of *satire*.

There are two ends, that men propose in writing satire : one of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private satisfaction and pleasure of the writer ; but without any view towards *personal malice* : the other is a *public spirit*, prompting men of *genius* and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able.

able. And as both these ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expose vice, as another hath to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a *court*, a *ministry*, or a *senate*, are they not amply paid by *pensions*, *titles*, and *power*, while I expect and desire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? yet if those, who take offence, think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the scene with them whenever they please.

But, if my design be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at least, I am sure it is the interest of those very *courts* and *ministers*, whose follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a high point of wisdom to get the laughers on our side; it is much more easy, as well as wise, to get those on our side, who can make millions laugh when they please.

My reason for mentioning *courts*, and *ministers*, (*whom I never think on but with the most profound veneration*) is, because an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be some reflection upon *courtiers* and *statesmen*, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true indeed, that Mr GAY, the author of this piece, hath been somewhat singular in the course of his fortunes; for it hath happened, that after fourteen years attending the *court*, with a large stock of real merit, a modest and agreeable conversation, a *hundred promises*, and *five hundred friends*, he hath failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reason; he lay under the suspicion of having written a libel, or lampoon against a great * minister. It is true, that great minister was demonstratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr GAY was not the author; but having lain under the suspicion, it seemed very just that he should suffer the punishment; because in this most reformed age, the virtues of a prime minister are no more to be suspected, than the chastity of Cæsar's wife.

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

It must be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the first of Mr GAY's works, wherein he hath been faulty with regard to *courtiers* and *statesmen*. For to omit his other pieces; even in his fables, published within two years past, and dedicated to the duke of CUMBERLAND, for which he was promised a reward, he hath been thought somewhat too bold upon the *courtiers*. And although it be highly probably he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily by not considering, that the malignity of some people might misinterpret what he said to the disadvantage of present *persons* and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr Gay as a politician; and shall consider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath by a turn of *humour*, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds in the strongest and most odious light; and thereby done eminent service both to *religion* and *morality*. This appears from the unparalleled success he hath met with. All *ranks*, *parties*, and *denominations* of men either crowding to see his *opera*, or reading it with delight in their closets; even ministers of state, whom he is thought to have most offended, (next to those whom the actors represent) appearing frequently at the *theatre* from a consciousness of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjust a parallel *malice*, *envy*, and *disaffection to the government* have made.

I am assured that several worthy *clergymen* in this city went privately to see the Beggar's Opera represented; and that the *fleeing coxcombs* in the *pit* amused themselves with making discoveries, and spreading the names of those gentlemen round the audience.

I shall not pretend to vindicate a *clergyman*, who would appear openly in his habit at a *theatre* with such a vicious crew as might probably stand round him, at such *comedies* and profane *tragedies* as are often represented. Besides, I know very well, that persons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cause of offence. But when the *lords* *chancellors*, who are keepers of the king's conscience; when the *judges* of the land, whose title is *reverend*; when *ladies*, who are bound by the rules of their sex to the strictest decency, appear in the *theatre* without censure; I cannot understand,

stand, why a young *clergy-man*, who goes concealed out of curiosity to see an innocent and moral play, should be so highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who said, *he hoped none of his clergy were there*. I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections against that reverend body planted in this city, and I wish there never may. But I should be very sorry that any of them should be so weak, as to imitate a *court-chaplain* in ENGLAND, who preached against the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do more good, than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine *.

In this happy performance of Mr GAY, all the characters are just, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It discovers the whole system of that common-wealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity, established among us, by which neither our lives nor our properties are secure, either in the high-ways, or in public assemblies, or even in our own houses. It shews the miserable lives, and the constant fate of those abandoned wretches: for how little they sell their lives and souls; betrayed by their *whores*, their *comrades*, and the *receivers* and *purchasers* of those thefts and robberies. This *comedy* contains likewise a *satire*, which, without enquiring whether it affects the present age, may possibly be useful in times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occasion of comparing those *common robbers of the public*, and their several stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several arts of *politicians* in times of corruption.

This *comedy* likewise exposeth, with great justice, that unnatural taste for Italian music among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our northern *climate* and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with Italian *effeminacy*, and Italian nonsense. An old gentleman said to me, that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the fore-runner

* Dr Thomas Heron, chaplain to the society at Lincoln's inn, afterward Bishop of Bangor, after that Archbishop of York, and now Archbishop of Canterbury.

of Italian operas and singers; and then we should want nothing but stabbing, or poisoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but servile attachment to a party, affectation of singularity, lamentable dullness, mistaken zeal, or studied hypocrisy, can have the least reasonable objection against this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr GAY.

NUMBER XV*.

LAMENTATIONS ii. 19.

Arise, cry out in the night: in the beginning of the watches pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord: lift up thy hands towards him, for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every street.

I Remember to have read an account, that an ode which Pindar writ in honour of the island Delos, was inscribed in the temple of Minerva at Athens, in large letters of gold. A public and very laudable acknowledgment for the poet's ingenuity, and for no more than a bare compliment! Such was the encouragement given by the great and public-spirited Athenians. Had the same poet, inspired by a noble and heroic ardor, by another ode awakened and roused their whole state against an invading enemy, or opened their eyes against any secret and wicked contrivers of their destruction, they would have erected him a statue at least. But, alas! that spirit is fled from the world, and long since neglected. Virtue is become her own pay-master. My countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complain there has been so little notice taken of a small, but most excellent pamphlet, written by the DRAPIER. It is intitled, A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND [above, p. 164]. There never was any treatise yet published, with a zeal

* See above, p. 354. in the notes.

more generous for the universal good of a nation, or a design more seasonable, considering our present lamentable condition: yet we listen not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it should have been inscribed in capital letters, (as glorious as those of the poet), in the most public part of every corporation-town, through this whole kingdom, that people might behold the several unprovoked causes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed farther, and say, that every head of every family ought to instruct his children so far in this most *incomparable pamphlet*, that they should not only understand, but be able to repeat by heart every single paragraph through the whole. This was the method laid down by the wisest law-giver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7. 8. 9. *And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.*

And where would be the great trouble, since we have little else to do, if every man would read a lecture of the *short view* every day in his family, after reading prayers? Nor do I think the expence would be extravagant, if he should have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames, in every chamber of his house; that it might be as evident as the *band-writing on the wall*.

And since I have ventured thus far to praise and recommend this most inimitable piece, let me speak a few words in favour of its AUTHOR.

I would propose to my countrymen before all their money goes off, (it is going as fast as possible), to convert it into a few statues to the DRAPIER, in those memorable parts of this kingdom, where our heroes have shone with the greatest lustre, in defence of our *liberty*, and the PROTESTANT RELIGION over all Europe; at DERRY, at ENNISKILLEN, at BOYNE, at AUGHRIM. Nor would it be amiss to set up a few more about our ME-

TROPOLIS, with that glorious inscription, LIBERTAS ET NATALE SOLUM.

If our money were metamorphosed upon such a good occasion as this, it would not be in the power of any Cypselus *, to get it into his own coffers; and it would be the only method to prevent its being carried off, except our viceroys should act like the Roman prefects, and run away with our very statues.

Courteous reader, mark well what follows.

“ I am assured, that it hath for some time been practised,” *etc.* [Here *the short view of the state of Ireland*, above, p. 164. was inserted verbatim.]

N U M B E R X I X.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[N. B. In the following discourse the author personates a country-gentleman in the North of Ireland. And this letter is supposed as directed to the Drapier.]

HAVING, on the 12th of October last, received a letter, signed ANDREW DEALER, and PATRICK PENNYLESS, I believe the following paper, just come to my hands, will be a sufficient answer to it.

S I R,

I Am a country gentleman, and a member of *parliament*, with an estate of about 1400*l.* a year; which, as a *northern* landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were esteemed to be not above half value; yet by the intolerable scarcity of *silver*, I lie under the greatest difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any

* Cypselus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax which brought all the money of that state to himself in ten years time. *Arist. Polit.*

thing

thing necessary for my family from *tradesmen*, who are not able to be long out of their *money*. But the sufferings of me, and those of my rank, are trifles in comparison of what the meaner sort undergo; such as the *buyers* and *sellers* at *fairs* and *markets*; the *shopkeepers* in every *town*; the *farmers* in general; all those who travel with *fish*, *poultry*, *pedlary-ware*, and other conveniences to sell: but more especially *handicrafts-men*, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both these kind of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a *double pistole*, or a *moidore*, (for we hardly have any *gold* of lower value left us) to divide it among themselves as they can: and this is generally done at an *ale-house*, or *brandy-shop*; where, besides the cost of getting drunk, (which is usually the case) they must pay *ten pence* or a *shilling* for changing their *piece* into *silver* to some *huckstering fellow*, who follows that *trade*. But, what is infinitely worse, those poor men for want of due payment are forced to take up their *oat-meal* and other necessaries of life at almost double value; and consequently are not able to discharge half their score, especially under the scarceness of *corn* for two years past, and the melancholy disappointment of the present *crop*.

The causes of this, and a thousand other evils, are clear and manifest to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar: these indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badness of seasons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot find work; but their weak reasonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren without the least grounds of provocation, who rejoice at our sufferings, although sometimes to their own disadvantage. They consider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually sent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and some other lovers of their country have so often observed with such good inclinations, and so little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumstances in general this complaint for the want of *silver* may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a *cut finger*, when he is struck with the *plague*: and yet a poor fellow going to the *gallows* may be allowed to feel the smart of *wasps*, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is so urging and vexatious in every kind of small traffic, and so hourly pressing upon all persons in the country whatsoever, that a hundred inconveniencies of perhaps greater moment in themselves have been tamely submitted to with far less disquietude and murmurs. And the case seems yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful men assert, that nothing is more easy than a remedy; and, that the want of *silver*, in proportion to the little *gold* remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary, as it is inconvenient. A person of distinction assured me very lately, that, in discoursing with the * *lord lieutenant* before his last return to England, his *excellency* said, *He had pressed the matter often, in proper time and place, and to proper persons; and could not see any difficulty of the least moment, that could prevent us from being made easy upon this article.*

Whoever carries to England twenty seven English shillings, and brings back one *moidore* of full weight, is a gainer of nine pence Irish: in a *guinea*, the advantage is three pence; and two pence in a *pistole*. The BANKERS, who are generally masters of all our *gold* and *silver*, with this advantage, have sent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thousand *moidores* in *silver* would thus amount in clear profit to 37*l.* 10*s.* The *shopkeepers*, and other *traders*, who go to London to buy goods, followed the same practice; by which we have been driven into this insupportable distress.

To a common thinker it should seem, that nothing would be more easy, than for the *government* to redress this evil, at any time they shall please. When the value of *guineas* was lowered in England from 21*s.* and 6*d.* to only 21*s.* the consequences to this kingdom were obvious, and manifest to us all: and a sober man may be

* The Lord Carteret.

allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of *coin* among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been since. It would surely require no very profound skill in Algebra to reduce the difference of *nine pence* in *thirty shillings*, or *three pence* in a *guinea* to less than a *farthing*; and so small a fraction could be no temptation either to *bankers* to hazard their *silver* at sea, or tradesmen to load themselves with it in their journies to England. In my humble opinion it would be no unseasonable condescension, if the *government* would graciously please to signify to the *poor loyal protestant subjects* of Ireland, either that this miserable want of *silver* is not possible to be remedied in any degree by the nicest skill in Arithmetic; or else, that it doth not stand with the good pleasure of England, to suffer any *silver* at all among us. In the former case, it would be madness to expect impossibilities; and in the other, we must submit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the CONQUEROR.

The question hath been often put in *printed papers*, by the DRAPIER and others, or perhaps by the same WRITER under different styles, why this kingdom should not be permitted to have a *mint* of its own for the coinage of *gold*, *silver*, and *copper*; which is a power exercised by many *bishops*, and every petty prince in Germany? but this question hath never been answered; nor the least application, that I have heard of, made to the *crown* from hence for the grant of a *public mint*; although it stands upon record, that several cities and corporations here had the liberty of *coining silver*. I can see no reasons, why we alone of all nations are thus restrained, but such as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the first imperial kingdom since Nimrod, which ever wanted power to *coin* their own money.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any subject to petition either the *prince* or the *parliament*, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a subject of Ireland, I profess I cannot determine: nor will undertake, that your *printer* shall not be prosecuted in a *court of justice* for publishing my

wishes, that a poor shop-keeper might be able to change a *guinea* or a *moidore* when a customer comes for a *crown's* worth of goods. I have known less crimes punished with the utmost severity, under the title of *disaffection*. And I cannot but approve the wisdom of the *ancients*, who, after *Astrea* had fled from the earth, at least took care to provide *three upright judges for hell*. Mens ears among us are indeed grown so nice, that whoever happens to think out of fashion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not so much as complain of the *tooth-ach*, lest our weak and busy dabblers in politics should be ready to swear against him for *disaffection*.

There was a method practised by Sir Ambrose Crawley, the great dealer in *iron-works*, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the several towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave *notes* instead of *money* (from *two pence* to *twenty shillings*) which passed current in all shops and markets, as well as in houses, where meat or drink was sold. I see no reason, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with some degree of success; or at least may not serve as a *poor* expedient in this our *blest* age of *paper*; which as it dischargeth all our greatest payments, may be equally useful in the smaller, and may just keep us alive, until an English *act of parliament* shall forbid it.

I have been told, that among some of our poorest American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little *money* among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of small traffic. How happy should we be in comparison of our present condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the sheers, for want of a *mint*, upon our *foreign gold*, by clipping it into *half-crowns*, and *shillings*, and even lower denominations; for beggars must be content to live upon scraps; and it would be our felicity, that these scraps would never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of these projects will avail, I see nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods like the *wild* Indians with

with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this disadvantage on our side, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is sent away, without so much as a recompence in *bugles* or *glafs* in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable circumstance in the present juncture, that some thousand families are gone, are going, or preparing to go from hence and settle themselves in America: the poorer sort for want of work; the farmers, whose beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and those who have any *ready money*, or can purchase any by the sale of their goods or leases, because they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any *money* to buy the very necessaries of life, are hastening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, *corn* among us carries a very high price; but it is for the same reason, that *rats* and *cats* and dead *horses* have been often bought for *gold* in a town besieged.

There is a person of quality in my neighbourhood, who twenty years ago, when he was just come to age, being unexperienced and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and consequently by the rise of land since that time, looked upon his estate to be set at half value: but numbers of these tenants or their descendants are now offering to sell their leases by cant*, even those which were for lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some fee-farms, which the landlord himself hath bought in at half the price they would have yielded seven years ago. And some leases let at the same time for lives have been given up to him without any consideration at all.

This is the most favourable face of things at present among us; I say, among us of the North, who are esteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how soon this misery and desolation may spread, is easy to fore-see.

The vast sums of *money* daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America have deprived us of our *gold*

* Cant or auction.

in these parts, almost as much as of our *silver*. And the good wives who come to our houses offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependance lies, for so little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half support their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthusiasm spread among our Northern people, of sheltering themselves in the continent of America, hath no other foundation than their present insupportable condition at home. I have made all possible enquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from those plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all seasons of the year, and so ill accommodated in their ships, that many of them have died miserably in their passage; but could never get one satisfactory answer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or cousin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a *penny* an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the English established in those colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the *wild* Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of some barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other service than to blunt their enemies swords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, who transport themselves, are settled in those interjacent tracts, as a screen against the insults of the *savages*; and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods at a very reasonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a *hundred* years purchase by their labour. Now, besides the *fox's* reason *, which inclines all those who have already ventured thither to represent every thing in a false light, as well for justifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their misery; the governing people in those plantations have also wisely provided, that no letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither without being first viewed by the council; by which our people

* The fox who, having lost his tail, would have persuaded the rest to cut off theirs.

here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some months ago by an honest man, who having transported himself and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of such a voyage, and to discourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, hath produced very little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for as it is natural to a man in a *fever* to turn often, although without any hope of ease; or when he is pursued, to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy just at his back; so men in the extremest degree of misery and want will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe, that I have very superficially touch'd the subject I began with, and with the utmost caution: for I know how criminal the least complaint hath been thought, however seasonable or just or honestly intended, which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at least in my time, be interpreted by inuendos as a false, scandalous, seditious, and disaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the *gout*; which, beside the loss and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, so severely afflicted with that distemper.

I wish you good success, but I can promise you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the least view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but *villains* and *betrayers* of their country can be your *enemies*. Upon which I have little to say, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that sort; and therefore as you may easily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, SIR,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant,

County of Down,

A. NORTH.

Dec. 2, 1728.

A short

A short Character of his Excellency THOMAS,
Earl of WHARTON, Lord Lieutenant of
Ireland.

With an account of some smaller facts during his
government, which will not be put into the
articles of impeachment.

Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by depu-
tation from hence, its annals, since the English
establishment, are usually digested under the heads of
the several governors: but the affairs and events of that
island, for some years past, have been either so insignifi-
cant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have
not furnished matter of any great importance to history.
The share of honour, which gentlemen from thence have
had by their conduct and employments in the army,
turns all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which
relates to politics or the art of government, is incon-
siderable to the last degree, however it may be repre-
sented at court by those who preside there, and would
value themselves upon every step they make, towards
finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining
a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plen-
tiful matter for story, are those in which a man would
least choose to live; such as under the various events and
revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or
the violence of a prevailing one, and lastly, the arbi-
trary, unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war,
Ireland has no share but in subordination to us; the
same may be said of their factions, which, at present,
are but imperfect transcripts of ours: but the third sub-
ject for history, which is arbitrary power, and oppressi-
on; as it is that by which the people of Ireland have,
for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's
subjects,

subjects, so being now at its greatest height under his excellency T. E. of W. a short account of his government, may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next. And because this account may be judged rather an history of his excellency, than of his government, I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach: which is not a humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the meer unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling, and, therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine (for I have the honour of his visits) and when these papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, that he is damnably mauled; and then with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather, or time of the day: so that I enter on the work with more chearfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance by first giving a character of his excellency, and then relating some facts during his government, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well that men's characters are best known from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time, or the scene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas,

T—s, earl of W—n, l—d l——t of I—e—l—d, by the force of a wonderful constitution hath passed some years, his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age either on his body or his mind, and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether he walks, or whistles, or swears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himself in each beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace, and in the same stile he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom: and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expects. He seems to be but an ill dissembler, and an ill liar, though they are the two talents he most practises, and most values himself upon. The ends he has gained by lying appeared to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them: his lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, though he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He swears solemnly he loves, and will serve you; and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him you are a dog and a rascal. He goes constantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; but he chooses at present to whore with a papist. In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understanding, for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths: and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy-counsellor; by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused, and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, because you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendship on your shoulders, and with the greatest ease and familiarity tell you that the faction are driving at something in the house; that you must be sure to attend,
and

and to speak to all your friends to be there, though he knows at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentions: and however absurd, ridiculous and gross this may appear, he has often found it successful, some men having such an awkward bashfulness, they know not how to refuse on a sudden, and every man having something to fear or hope, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and hath raised it by going far in the ruin of another. With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics, so that bawdy, prophaneness and business fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first he makes use of suitable favourites, whose talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passes in town. As for business, he is said to be very dextrous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue, and he seems to have transferred those talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politicks, affects the most obscure, troublesome and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of course whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a stoic, and thinks them well recompensed by a return of children to support his family without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him some-
times

times by turns, and sometimes all together: since he went into Ireland, he seems most disposed to the second, and has met with great success, having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character: I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me just as he recollected them; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom, now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, esq; chirurgion-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country-house, half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas, earl of Pembroke, then lord lieutenant, and to the commissioners of the revenue for a lease of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treasurer here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord treasurer struck off some part of the rent: he had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent; the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and by his absolute authority commanded Mr Proby to
surrender

surrender up the land : which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment ; at the same time he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest ; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord lieutenant, there came over to make his court one Dr L—d, f—w of D—n C—ge, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation, of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom B—d—k, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him however into a great degree of favour : the doctor attended his excellency to Ireland, and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought, by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour ; and walking one day with his mistress after my lord and lady in the castle-garden, my lady said to his excellency, " What do you think ? we are going to lose poor Foydy," a name of fondness they usually gave her. " How do you mean ?" said my lord. " Why the doctor behind us is resolved to take her from us." " Is he, by G—d ? why then (G—d d—mn me) he shall have the first bishoprick that falls *."

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his excellency for England, and soon after the b—p—k of C—k falling void, to shew he meant fair, he married his damsel publicly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishoprick ; but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the a—chb—ps here, especially his gr—ce of Y—k, interposed with the queen,

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this subject, he once said with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his w—e a b—p.

to hinder so great a scandal to the church, and Dr Brown, provost of Dublin college, being then in town, her majesty was pleased to nominate him; so that Dr L—d was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion, than a couple of olive branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr Brown; Dr Benjamin P—tt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the house of commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: he is a person of wit and learning, has travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: but he had the original sin of being a reputed tory, and a dependent on the duke of Ormond; however, he had many friends among the bishops and other nobility to recommend him to the queen; at the same time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr Hall, who had much the advantage of P—tt in point of seniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense: he had been recommended from Ireland by several persons, and his excellency, who had never before seen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure the college by recommending persons from this side, at last set up H—ll, with all imaginable zeal, against P—tt. I tell this story the more fully, because it is affirmed, by his excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court skill, than at this time, to stop Dr P—tt's promotion, not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but
that

that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially that of his chaplain Dr L—d. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency so at his levees, who sometimes could not conceal his surprize, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other; these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths, that he would never oppose him more, his excellency went immediately to the bishop of E—y, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that Dr P—tt should be provost, which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message; though at the same time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his excellency owned he did not oppose him *directly*, but confessed he did it *collaterally*. The doctor, a little warmed, said, “No, my lord, you mean “*directly* you did not, but *indirectly* you did.” The conclusion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and, as a further mortification, just upon the day of his excellency’s departure for Ireland.

But here I must desire the reader’s pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his excellency’s merits as soon as possible. I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the stile, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person, who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency’s life.

A RELATION of several Facts, exactly as they were transmitted to me from Ireland about three months ago, and at several times, from a person of quality, and in employment there.

THE earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for her majesty's service abroad, on the 27th of August, 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of lieutenant-general Harvey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded by the duke of Ormond; on which occasion the duke had her majesty's orders only for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment, as other regiments. But that which was to supply the earl of Rochfort's, had not a commission granted till the 29th of April, 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of August to that time (being above 5,700*l.*) was taken, under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses. As for the last use, those are always produced out of the funds for providing cloathing, and the duke of Ormond did so: as for horses wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way; the keeping the horses did not amount to 700*l.* by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament: so there was at least 5,000*l.* charged to the nation, more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs L—d, at first coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of selling it for about 200*l.* but at last was told she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other servants, would deserve a consideration for their attendance; accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night, and, to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play; so that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1,000*l.*
of



of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the rest made a perquisite to his excellency. For Mrs L—d having an husband, and a bishoprick promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met lieutenant-general Langston in the court of requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine; he tells me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I must desire you will take the first opportunity to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general answered, "He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell." With this the gentleman was mighty well satisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency said immediately, "I was forced to speak for him, as a great many of his friends have votes at elections; but, damn him, he is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one M—y to the duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promised. So M—y withdrew. As soon as he was gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke, "That fellow is the greatest rogue in Christendom."

Col. C—w—d having received pay, for some time, in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applied to his excellency, who represented him in such a light, that he got above 900*l.* as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10*s.* per day; but he reckoning this as much too little for his wants, as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the queen for a further addition of 10*s.* a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be still farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As

As for the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building it; till upon enquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out so well, that there was a necessity of destroying sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom: upon this occasion, many projects were proposed, all which at last gave way to the proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good, which was, that forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose: this was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving of money for any other use; as every body thought by the words he spoke, though afterwards he shewed them, that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of, to have it pass; though the money was applied in it, to the building one arsenal only, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arsenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it as far as he could, and contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any further charge to the public, and appointed his second secretary, Mr Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendant at three pounds per week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a week: and these were, for the greater part, persons who had no knowledge

knowledge of such business, and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it has since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them, insomuch that the work that they have overseen, which, with their salary, has cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate. And this is all a certainty, because all that has been done, was only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip S—v—ge, esq; as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue for sealing writs in the queen's business, and shewed them for it some precedents; but they, not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr South, one of the commissioners, then in London, to enquire the practice there. He sent them word, upon enquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like cases; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it must lie at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his excellency knew so well how to choose an attorney and solicitor-general, that, when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being about two hundred pounds per annum. But never found any fault in the commissioners, who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Capt. Robert F—d, father to the present e—l of K—e, had a grant from king Charles the second of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of capt. C—s B—n, now e—l of M—h, and George F—d, elder brother to the present e—l of K—e; which the said Robert F—d enjoyed with a salary of three hundred pounds per annum; and, after his death, his son George enjoyed it; till my lord G—l—w—y did, by threats, compel him to surrender the said patent for a pension of two hundred pounds per annum, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the present e—l of K—e, as heir to his father and brother,
looked

looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender of said patent, which should have come to him, the e—l of M—h being still living: therefore in order to right himself, did petition her majesty, which petition, as usual, was referred to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant, who being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on such occasions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant-general Ingoldsbys, the then lords justices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to enquire whether the e—l of K—e had any legal title to said patent, which he, in a full report, said he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice-treasurer to enquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was useful or necessary for her majesty's service. He gave in his report, and said he thought it both useful and necessary; and with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: first, that the muster-master general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above 200,000*l.* per annum, so having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: and, secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary: but col. P—r, the muster-master general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him, so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, in consideration thereof, that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices report, as ever she had done against the tories; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he comptrolled it himself; which

(now

(now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: though since it has been plainly made appear, that for want of some controul on that office, her majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk; and that during the time of his excellency's government, of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been enquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear, that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and, of course, all pretensions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: A captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him: and accordingly, for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved off by the commander of the regiment, who, at the same time applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majesty's service in Spain, and absent by her majesty's licence: his excellency hearing that, said they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of this here; and so notwithstanding all the commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a disputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was surrendered. Talking one morning as he was dressing (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in council, about the affairs of Trim, he said the lord chief justice D—— had laid down as law a thing, for which a man ought to have his gown stripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and in less than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expression again: yet some days after sent Dr L—— to assure his lordship he said no such thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he used his utmost efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: and when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly to lord chief justice D——, that perhaps

some officious persons might spread stories, that he had endeavoured to do some of them a prejudice in England, which he assured them he never had; but on the contrary would always, without distinction, shew his regard according to merit; which the lord chief justice B— was pleased to approve of, by saying (that was very honourable, that was very gracious) though he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr Deering assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themselves; with which Mr Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, "*D—mn me, how easily he is bit.*" When the duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr Anderson Saunders the government of Wicklow-castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about 12*l.* per annum, which Mr Saunders gave to the free-school of the town; but his excellency, not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremony, or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to J—s the horse-courser, who lies under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining. Some time after, his excellency landing the second time, he sent for Mr Saunders, among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr Saunders would not take amiss his giving that place to J—s, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him, which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge usually give away things, without enquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr Saunders answered him, "He was very glad to find what was done was not out of any particular displeasure to him, because Mr Whitshed had said at Wicklow, by way of apology for what his excellency had done, that it was occasioned by Mr Saunders having it; and seeing his excellency had no ill intention against him, was glad he could tell his excellency it was not legally given away, for he had a custodium for the land out of the court of exchequer; so his excellency's commission could do him no prejudice."

Lieutenant-

Lieutenant-general Echlin had pay on this establishment as brigadier, till the middle of October, 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and lieutenant-general G—— was put in his room. Some time after, major-general Rook, considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded, that G—— could not come on, till some time in February after, because his regiment was also out of the kingdom till that time, and therefore, he being the eldest general officer, that had no pay as such, was entitled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was removed till G—— was qualified to receive it; he having done the duty. His excellency upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to G—— he should have it, so bid him go see; which he did, and found it was: then his excellency told him he would refer his case to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour; and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers sat, he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rook.

When the prosecution against the dissenting ministers in Drogheda was depending, one Stevens, a lawyer in this town of Dublin, sent his excellency, then in London, a petition, in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others who lay under any such prosecution; and in about a fortnight's time, his excellency sent over a letter, to the then lords justices, to give the attorney and solicitor general's orders, to enter a *noli prosequi* to all such suits: which was done accordingly, though he never so much as enquired into the merit of the cause, or referred the petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be never so light. He said he had her majesty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance: there was 850*l.* ordered by her majesty to buy new liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, &c. but with great industry he got them made cheaper by 200*l.* which he saved out of that sum; and it is reported,

that his steward got a handsome consideration beside, from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty, which service pleased his excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of.

The lord lieutenant has no power to remove or put in a solicitor general without the queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission; yet, because Sir R—L— disoblged him, by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr F—, though he had no queen's letter for so doing, only a letter from Mr secretary Boyle that her majesty designed to remove him.

The privy-council in Ireland, have a great share of the administration, all things being carried by the consent of the majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency disliked so great a share of power in any but himself: and when matters were debated in council, otherwise than he approved, he would stop them, and say, "*Come, my lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes;*" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the b—ps, with the following recommendation "My lord, M— is a very honest fellow, and has no fault but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been so infamous, that a b—p in England refused to admit him to a living he had been presented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the earl of I— to be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified,

when he found lieutenant-general I——by appointed, without any regard to his recommendation ; particularly because the usual salary of a lord justice in the lord lieutenant's absence, is 100*l.* per month, and he had bargained with the earl for 40*l.*

I will send you in a packet or two some particulars of his excellency's usage of the convocation, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs C——ngsby, an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magistrate in Trim, his barbarous injustice to dean Jephson and poor Will Crow ; his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of ; the common custom of playing on sunday in my lady's closet ; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyship and Mrs L——d and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney coach ; and his excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited ; with some other passages which, I hope, you will put into some method, and correct the stile, and publish as speedy as you can.

Note, Mr S——ge, besides the persecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament in a case where his excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatned out of it by his excellency. The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received ; whenever they come, I shall publish them in a second part.

REMARKS ON DR SWIFT'S TRACTS relating
to IRELAND.

Taken from Mr DEANE SWIFT'S ESSAY.

These tracts may, for any thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that reason may chance to be neglected by succeeding generations; which happens to be the fate of almost all other points of history, excepting those only which are stiffly supported by the clamour and virulence of contending parties, according to their several views and interests in the commonwealth. But as the writings of Dr Swift, and particularly the *Drapier's letters* are founded on the secure basis of the laws of his country, and supported throughout the whole with the warmest zeal for liberty, they will for ever command the veneration of those who are not unworthy to enjoy the blessings of our constitution. For although it be a truth scarce ever regarded, the subject matter which happens to give rise to any political treatise whatsoever is but of little consequence; that spirit which is conveyed in the writings of a patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and country, being that alone which improveth our faculties, and therefore hath a claim to all the deepest of our attention, let what age or nation soever boast of the honour of his genius. But if the inhabitants of these nations, and particularly the people of Ireland, will continue to be like the dead adder, which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely; the time may come, when, for want of a patriot inspired like Dr Swift to apprise them of their danger, they may be doomed to chains and slavery, by the contrivance of some wicked impostor that may lie in wait for their destruction. Consider therefore, ye sons of Ireland, what hardships had like to have been inflicted upon your wife, your courageous patriot; consider what persecutions were set on foot against him by slaves and wretches, for no other crime but that of defending your liberties, or rather indeed for maintaining the very existence of your country, against one vile insignificant mechanic. Think not because that evil day is past, that in the womb of time there cannot be any further projects to undermine your liberties. Have ye not seen pretended patriots of late years which have prostituted their impious pens to serve the vilest purposes; but thanks be to God! their writings have perished, and their names are universally pronounced with abhorrence, contempt, and execration. Read therefore and imbibe the political principles of Dr Swift; engrave them on the tablet of your hearts; teach them unto your childrens children; and above all things remember to fix an indelible mark of infamy upon those men who by their words, their actions, and
other

other wicked insinuating artifices, endeavour to sap the vitals of your liberty. For be assured, that in the day of trial they will approve themselves to their masters to be corrupted slaves and traitors to their country.

As to the piece intitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland, written in 1727*, [above, p. 164.] I cannot but declare myself heartily sorry, that I am forced to disagree with Lord Orrery with regard to his critic on it [above, p. 171.] For surely among all the pleasures and delights which have any respect unto this habitable world, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the prosperity of our country. But alas! the miseries of Ireland being the effects of a thousand causes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At least all remedies but one (which is abolishing the use of gold and silver out of the whole community; a scheme too philosophical, and perhaps too chimerical for so corrupted an age to reduce into practice) appear to be so exceedingly desperate, that I verily believe it would require a legislator equal to the conductor of the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, to make them a rich and flourishing people, notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, and the temperature of their climate.

I wonder, that any man could possibly reside for the greater part of eighteen years in Ireland, without remarking to his infinite regret, that no people in the Christian world are so destitute of raiment, food, and all the conveniencies of life, as the inhabitants of that wretched kingdom, notwithstanding that by God and nature it is perhaps the most favoured of any country upon earth. *Optima natio, pessima gens*, was, I remember, Dr Swift's periphrasis for Ireland, whenever his patriot indignation was raised against the absurdity of their conduct and politics.

In the *short view* the Doctor enumerates fourteen causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich, and then examines what effects arise from these causes in Ireland. I am well convinced, that some few alterations have taken place since 1727. But whether in fact these alterations have at all contributed to the interest of the weal-public; or whether it appears they have had the least effect towards banishing complaint from our streets, is at present one of the points to be considered; and the other is, how far the remarks of Dr Swift are equally true at this day as they were in 1727.

I cannot but insist upon it, that Ireland, with regard to twelve articles out of the fourteen, is just in the same condition, and labours under the same disadvantages, this present year 1754, as it did in the year 1727.

With respect to the seventh article [above, p. 165. 167.] which concerns the improvement of land, and the encouragement of agriculture,

392 REMARKS ON SWIFT'S TRACTS, etc.

culture, Ireland is by far in a worse situation at present than it was in 1727, notwithstanding many appearances to the contrary. For although it be certain that great improvements, and particularly the finest roads perhaps in the world, have been made since that epoch, flocks and herds have been only thereby multiplied. And although it be asserted by Lord Orrery [above, p. 171.] that agriculture is cultivated [*i. e.* that the culture of land is cultivated] in Ireland; the greater part of the husbandmen, the labourers and the poor, have, merely for the sake of those cursed cattle which are the bane of Ireland, been driven out of their wretched habitations, and banished the country, helpless, naked and forlorn; to rot, starve, and perish in desolate places, to the great diminution of the inhabitants.

And as to the fourteenth article [above, p. 165. 168.] the people of Ireland, by their folly, their madness, their luxury, and disregard to all public interest, are by many degrees in a more wretched condition than they were in 1727; the most common necessities, even their corn, their ale, and their potatoes, being to the shame and confusion of their politics, imported from abroad, as well as their tea, their claret, and their spices.

As to the pamphlet intituled, *A modest proposal*, etc. [above, p. 318.], it is a humorous treatise, equally the product of despair and benevolence; and seemeth to have been written in the bitterness of the Dean's soul, and principally addressed to the consideration of those merciless tyrants which starve and oppress their fellow creatures, even to the shame and destruction of their country. His proposal is, to fatten up the children of beggars, cottagers and farmers, as they do lambs and pigs for the markets, and sell their carcases to the rich; a food which he declares to be *very proper for landlords*; who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to their children.

As to Dr Swift's political tracts relating to Ireland, wherein the rights of the clergy and the cause of christianity are expressly and immediately concerned, I shall only observe in general, that Swift, being a thorough master of politics, and, far beyond all the wisest of his contemporaries, deeply versed in the history of parties, could discover at a surprizing distance the natural consequences of those efforts which had been frequently made during the time he flourished, to subvert our happy constitution both of church and state; insomuch that he appears, from a great variety of his tracts, to have been one of the most sagacious watchmen that ever was known in the church of Christ.

The end of the THIRD VOLUME.



